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ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE AS DEPICTED IN EARLY MEDIEVAL JAIN TEXTS

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PREFACE

In the following pages, an attempt has been made, to write a connected and scientific account about the different aspects of the Indian life, as gleaned from the Jain works, written generally between 600 and 1000 A.D. The present Author has tried to utilise original sources and at the same time, the secondary sources have also been consulted.

The first chapter deals with the Polity and Government and it has been shown that the original Jain sources sometimes give us additional information on political systems of the early medieval period. The second chapter, on the Social Life, seeks to analyse critically the various types of information on the early medieval society. It has been demonstrated that the Jain sources can be invaluable help in reconstructing the social life of the post-Gupta and the early medieval periods. Every attempt has been made to compare and contrast the informations, supplied by both the Jain and the non-Jain texts. The third chapter likewise gives the facts about the Cultural Life and it is hoped that the readers will find useful information in this chapter too.

The fourth chapter is on Economic Life. The Jain sources of this period give us interesting information on the problems connected with the economic life of the

people. The next chapter on Religious Life gives a description of the condition of the different religious systems as revealed by the writings of the Jain authors of this period. The last chapter on Historical Geography, it is hoped, will be found useful by the students, interested in this particular subject.

It should here be emphasised that most of the Jain works, of this period are dated and therefore there evidence has some real historical value. The contemporary Jain and non-Jain inscriptions also have been noted.

It is hoped that this dissertation will be found sufficiently cuseful by the students of ancient Indian history. The present writer also wishes to express her deep sense of gratitude to her guide Dr. A. K. Chatterjee of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture (Calcutta University) and all other teachers of that department.

Dated: 8th November, 1984

CALCUTTA.

Snigdha Kole

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.	ses ",	Aitareya Brahmana.
A.B.O.R.I.	-	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental
•	,	Research Institute, Poona.
A. G. I.	-	Ancient Geography of India, (by
		Alexander Cunningham).
A.I. L.C.T.	-	Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural
		Tradition.
A.S.I.A.R.	. •	Archaeological Survey of India,
•		Annual Report.
B.I.	-	Bibliotheca Indica.
C.H.I.	-	Cambridge History of India.
G.I.I.	=	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
D.H.N.I.	-	Dynastic History of Northern India:
		(by H.C.Ray).
D.P.P.N.		Dictionary of Pali Proper Names.
E.C.	-	Epigraphia Carnatica.
E.I.		Epigraphia Indica.
G.O.S.	•	Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

V

	IV	
	2,	
H.I.L.	-	History of Indian Literature (by
		M. Winternitz).
I.A.	-	Indian Antiquary.
I.G.	•	Indian Culture, Calcutta.
I.H.Q.	-	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.	- -	Journal Asiatique.
J.A.H.R.S.	-	Journal of the Andhra Historical
		Research Society.
J.A.O.S.	-	Journal of the American Oriental
,		Society.
J.A.S.B.	-	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	-	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the
,		Royal Asiatic Society.
J.B.O.R.S.	-	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa
3		Research Society.
J.D.L.	-	Journal of Department of Letters,
•		Calcutta.
J.I.H.	-	Journal of Indian History.
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	J.I.S.O.A.	-	Journal of the Indian Society of
	·	•	Oriental Art.
	J.O.I.	•	Journal of the Oriental Institute.
٠	J.R.A.S.	, 	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,
			London.
,	J.S.B.I.	-	Jaina Sahitya ka Brhad Itihasa in
-	•		6 volumes.
	J.S.L.S.	-	Jaina Silalekha Sangraha.
	M.A.R.	•	Mysore Archaeological Report.
	Mbh.	-	Mahabharata.
	M.D.J.M.	-	Manikoandra Digambara Jaina Granthamala.
	N.C.	•	Nisitha Curni.
	NII.A.	•	New Indian Antiquary.
	P.H.A.I.	••	Political History of Ancient India(by
			H.C. Raychaudhuri)
	Palih.C.	-	Proceedings of the Indian History
			Congress.
	P.H.N.I.	•	Political History Northern India
	V		(by G.C. Chowdhury).
	P.P.N.	-	Frakrit Proper Names.

Q.J.M.S. - Quatterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

R.V. - Rgveda.

S.B. - Satapatha Brahmana.

S.B.E. - Sacred Books of the East.

Sel. Ins. - Select Inscriptions etc. (by D.C. Sircar).

S.I.I. - South Indian Inscriptions.

S.J.G.M. . - Singhi Jaina Granthamala.

Z.D.M.G. - Zeitschrift Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

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CHAPTER - I

POLITY AND GOVERNMENT

Section (i) : Origin and Types of States

The Jain literature of our period, though vast and varied, offer but little information of spectacular nature regarding the administration and polity of contemporary India. As a matter of fact, we hardly notice any conspicuous difference between the political systems of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. It may be said, that the system propounded by the Smriti and Nitisastra writers was followed, but with certain modifications.

As we know, the Jain conception of the origin of the state is somewhat different from that of the Brahmanas. Jinasena, the author of the Adipurana (an 8th century work) records the tradition which mentions the existence on of an idyllic state (bhagabhinni) wherein people had all their the desires fulfilled by wish yielding trees (Kalpavrkshas). Gradually, with the change of time. the Kalpavrkshas began to disappear and discord appeared in the tranquil life of the world. Perplexed, people turned to an eminent person of their age to resolve their difficulties. According to the Jains, their had been born twelve such eminent persons called patriarchs (Kulakaras) in the transition era. When all the Kalpayrkshas entirely disappeared, it was Rshabhadeva, the first exponent of the Jaina faith, who introduced six occupations : martial, agricultural, literary, artistic, commercial and industrial. He also dividend the people on earth into three classes viz. Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra according to their professions. He also established law and order over the world. Rshabhadeva also planned and built villages and towns, arranging them into groups of eight hundred, four hundred and two hundred2. He also created four great monarchies and placed

under them a thousand smaller kings and feudatries. He founded institutions of punishment which were light at first and later became more severe³. Jinasena opined that for the preservation of man a coercive authority was necessary and absence of such controlling power results in Matsyanyava (law of fish). Thus, a state of orderliness was gradually established. It was not the result of divine creation. It is on this moot point that the Jain theory of the origin of the state differs from the Brahmanical one. A story told in the Mahabharata depicts the god Narayana creating a son from his Teias (Lustre) called Virajas, one of whose descendants, Prthu was crowned king and endowed with divine virtues. The above account of the Mahabharata clearly shows that the state was regarded as a divine institution. The Jainistic view, on the contrary, excludes the idea of divine creation and maintains that political and social institutions were the outcome of changed circumstances. Nor is there any indication that the government was instituted by any definite contract 6.48 minutes are the statement of the Adipurana we find that the so-called modern factors sovereignity, population and territory & of the state were considered essential for the existence of the state in that remote age too'.

Let us now turn our attention to the basic elements which constituted a state according to the ancient Indian authors and their Jain followers. These were seven in number and Somadeva (10th century) in his administrative manual, <u>Nitivakvamrta</u> has given on daborate description of them. The seven important constituents are viz. <u>Svamin(king)</u>, <u>Amatva (ministry)</u>, <u>Janapada (territory)</u>, <u>Durga (fort)</u>, <u>Kośa (treasury)</u>, <u>Bala (army)</u>, <u>Mitra (allies)</u>. **(Ministry)**, These constituents regarded as the limbs (<u>Angas</u>) of the body politic by the Indian thinkers. During the early medieval period, almost every state, whether ruled by sovereign kings or feudal lords, exhibited these features

in their political set-up. Mularaja, the founder of the Caulukyan empire and a well-known political figure of our period, not only possessed a ministry whom he consulted during his invasion of the Cahamana king, Vigraharaja (W2)ACD) but also a territorial state called Sarasyatamandala and a fort named Kanthadurga 10. Needless to add, he maintained a large army and his coffers were full. The imperial Paramaras, Cahamanas and other sovereign states of this period, all embodied the above seven elements in their political system, without which it was not possible for them to function properly as a close-knit unit in their respective kingdoms.

Although monarchy was the most popular form of government of the post-Gupta times, yet the Jain texts of our period also refer to certain other types of states. Jinadesa, the author of the NisithacGurni has enumerated seven kinds of states while warning Jaina monks from travelling into anarchical regions. These were (a) non-ruler states (anaraya anarajya or arajaka), (b) Invaraja ruled states (invarajja), (c) kingless states (verajja), (d) states in hostility (viruddha-rajja), (e) Two-ruler states (dorajja), (f) republics (ganarajja) and (g) Monarchies (rajja).

Non-ruler states: Anarava (anaraiva) is defined often by scholars as a type of government where "law was to be taken as a ruler and that there should be no man-ruler" 11. According to the Misitha Curni, that state is called anarava where coronation of the king and crown-prince had not taken place after the death of the former king 12. Another term for anarava used frequently in Jain literature is araiaka. A statement of the Mahabharata speaks disparagingly of the constitution of such araiaka states saying, "when the law would not rule, the citizens of this form of government took to monarchy 112. Thus, in a anarava or araiaka state, it

was the existing law of the land which people obeyed in the absence of a proper ruler.

Invaraia - ruled states (Ruvaraiia): Invaraia was a state where sovereignity was vested in the hands of a crown-prince (invaraya). According to Jinadasa, that particular state was termed vavaraija where the crown-princes had not been formally coronated after the demise of the king and the former had not selected an heir apparent 15.

Besides the territory bestowed upon the crown prince as Kumara-bhukti 14 by the monarch may also be regarded as Yuvaraja-state. We have the example of prince Kunala and Samprati who were bestowed the responsibility of the city of Ujjayini as Kumarabhukti, while emperor Asoka ruled at Pataliputra. Jayaswal 14 is of the opinion, that in such cases, government was in all likelihood in the hands of a council of regency, the sovereign being immature.

Kingless states (veraija): The term verajja or vairajya may be rendered as the kingless constitution' denoting a democratic form of government. The Misitha Curni gives various definitions for the word such as states in mutual hostility, or states captured by enemy, or states which were kingless due to the death or abdication of the king, or a state where the king is forsaken by all his isvaras (Savvesara), that is the servents (bhrtvas). The last definition is of some constitutional importance as the word isvaras (savvesara) is specially explained as 'the servents' (bhrtva-ityarthah) which suggests that they were probably representatives of the people. The above definition to a considerable degree corroborates the passage of the Aitareya Brahmana which states, "in this type of government the whole country or nation (inapadah) took

throne, and struggling hard to appropriate the kingdom, violence being 26 the only means to decide the issue! Kautilya characterises <u>dvairājva</u> or the 'rule of the two' as " a constitution of rivalry and mutual conflict leading to final destruction" The author of the <u>Niśitha Cūrni</u> also speaks disfavourably of a <u>derajia</u>.

Republics (ganarajja): In ancient India, ganarajja implied a form of government where the sovereign power was vested in the hands of "a gana or a group of people" 28. The religious ganas or sanghas of the Jaina and Buddhist Orders were based on this concept of government. In the Nisitha Gurni we find references to the gana of the Mallas and the Sarasvatas. The Abhira-vishaya has also been mentioned which was we know was a republic under the Guptas 32. However, it may be added that the republics during our period cessed to exist and monarchy was the most popular form of government.

Morarchies (rajia): This particular type of government was most common in India in the early medieval period. The area ruled by a single king was known as rajva where the authority of the king was considered to be indispensable for the welfare of the state. Many of the great literateurs of this period, both Jaina and classical, refer to several illustrious contemporary monarchs from whom they received patronage and encouragement in their scholarly pursuits.

Section (ii): The King

Kingship in India existed from the time of the composition of the earlier hymns of Rksamhita. We learn of kings such as Divodasa, Sudas, Purukutsa and others who ruled over comparatively small kingdoms. With

the gradual dissemination of the Indo-Aryans all over the sub-continent, larger states like Kuru, Pancala, Kosala, Matsya, Videha, Viderbha etc., slowly emerged. By the time of the composition of the epics and Puranas, practically the entire Uttarapatha was Aryanised and most of the states came under the monarchical system. During the Buddhist period a few republican states made their struggling appearance, but with passage of time, these too, were absorbed by powerful monarchies.

Our <u>Smrti</u> and <u>Nitisastra</u> writers have laid down certain norms for the guidance kings and only in very rare cases, were these rules flouted. We should remember that the kings of our period (600 A.D. - 1000 A.D.) enjoyed unlimited power like their Gupta predecessors, but only a few dared to misuse it. The modern saying "power corrupts, and absolute corrupts absolutely" perhaps does not pertain to the kings of the early medieval period as the rulers by and large were not tyrannical. Fortunately for us, a celebrated Jain writer of this time viz. Somadeva, has left for posterity an invaluable political treatise called <u>Nitivākvāmrta</u> which gives an authentic picture of the political system prevailing in India in his time.

The King of our period is considered to be the pivot of government and the nucleus of all state activities. Somadeva remarks, "without him not a single <u>prakrti</u> (constitutent) can function properly, however, well it may be equipped. Our author also openly declares that "the king indeed has no equal and should be regarded as god. He bows his head only to his gurus. evidently meaning parents. In the <u>Nisitha</u> <u>Cūrni</u> the words of a king are quoted as "although not the Lord of the

whole of India, I am the master or Lord in my dominions at least". 35
Such utterances easily indicate that the kings complete sovereignity
over the state was recognised. Kshatriyas alone were regarded as
eligible for kingship, 6 Yuan Chwang also remarks, - "The sovereignity
for many successive generations had been exercised only by the Kshatriya,
rebellion and regicide have occasionally arisen, other castes, assuming
the distinction; 36a but in practice non-Kshatriyas also sometimes assumed
power. 37 The Puranas of this time invariably refer to the Sūdra kings
who were ruling over certain parts of the country during this Kali age. 38

A true king is one who is the repository of all the merits. 39 According to Somadeya, an ideal king should be a man of religious temperament with good family traditions, endowed with a pure character, dignity and valour. His living should be based on righteous means. He should be free to wield his power of wrath and mercy and should be able to display the superiority of himself over others. 40 Besides these, a few more added qualifications are sought by Jinadasa, author of the Nisitha Curni. He opines that a real king should be of pure heritage (ubhava - kula - visuddha), should belong to high Kshatriya family (uditakulavamsa sambhuta), and be properly coronated either by the previous king or by the subjects (muddhabhisitta).

As the kingpin of the administration was the monarch himself, it was therefore necessary that he should be exceedingly knowledgeable and versatile. Somedeve therefore lays great stress on the perfect education of the king. According to him, anarchy was preferable to the rule of an illiterate and ignorant potentate. Kautilya, the renowned author of the Arthasastra also emphasizes the necessity of a proper education when he

declares, 42a "in view of maintaining efficient discipline he (the king) shall ever and invariably keep company with aged professors of sciences, in whom alone discipline has its firm root". In the same section we are told by Kautilya43 that even "during the rest of the day and night, he shall not only receive new lessons and revise old lessons, but also hear over and over again what has not been clearly understood." This account on the king's education is also to be found in the Ramayana 44 where we are told that all the four princes received due education in their youth under the able tutelage of Vasistha. However, the most detailed and interesting account of the education of a prince is given in the early 7th century work of Bana viz. the well known Kadambari. We learn from this work45 that the prince Candrapida was sent to a shhool (vidyamandira), specially built for him near the capital along with his friends (kulaputras ile. belonging to noble families) at the tender age of six. This particular vidyamandira was in the charge of several acarvas (teachers), versed in different branches of learning. The following subjects, according to Bana, were taught in that institution - grammar, dharmasastra, rajaniti, vvayama, (physical exercise) war-science, 46 (it included training in following weapons - capa, cakra, carma, krpana, śakti, tomara, paraśu, gada and other warimplements) chariot, elephant and horse, riding, music 47 (the musical instruments included vina, venu, muraja, kamsva-tala, dardura, puta etc.), nrtyasastra, gandharva, hastisiksha, science concerning horses, purushalakshanas, citrakarma, yantraccheda, pustakavyapara, lekhyakarma, dvutkala, gandhasastra, sakunirutajnana, grahaganita, ratpapariksha, darukarman, dantavyapara, vastuvidya, avurveda, mantrapravoga, vishapaharana, surangopadbeda, tarana, langhana, arohana, ratitantra, Indrajala, katha, hataka, akhyayika, kavya, Mahabharata, Purana, itihasa,

Rāmāyana, sarvalipi, language, silpa, chandas etc. It is interesting to note that according to Bana, none except the royal parents of Gandrapida were allowed to visit him during his ten-years residence in that school. The school building had only one gate, which discouraged any sort of trespassing. Needless to say, the prince underwent an extremely rigorous training under the tutelege of a select band of teachers. The famous Jain saint, Jinasena I, in his Adipurana 48 informs us that not only thessons of Rshabha were educated in different subjects, but also his daughters, received special training in grammar and lipisastra. The Adipurana further enlightens us that king Rshabha taught his sons various sastras, a number of which like Bharatasastra, music, gandharvasastra, citrakala, vantra, kameniti (in Bana's work we get the expression ratitantra), purushalakshana, avurveda, dhanurveda, ratnapariksha etc. also occur in the Kadambari. This reminds us of the sixty-four Arts of Vatsyayana's Kāmasūtra 50 and the seventy-two Arts of the Jain canonical texts 51. Like his eminent predecessor, Jinasena I, the author of the Nitivakvamrta also outlines the kind of education that was essential for a potent king. Somadeva considers that a king should be instructed in four branches of learning consisting of the knowledge of self (anvikshiki), trayi or the knowledge of the four Vedas, siksha, kalpa, vvakarana, nirukta, chandaş, ivotisha and itihasa, Purana, Minamsa, Hvaya and dharmasastra etc. varta the science of agriculture, cattle-breeding and commerce and dandaniti or the principles of politics. 52 Stressing the importance of these four vidvas, Somadeva elaborates that a person who studies Anvikshiki can rationally examine all practicable and impracticable matters, does not despair in crisis and is not spoilt by good fortune.

was a contemporary of Haribhadra 59 (8th century) asks kings not to indulge in the follwing vices (vyasana) - women, dice, wine, hunting, rude speech, severe punishment and misappropriation of the royal funds 60 . Somedeva in his Nitivakvamrta 61 strongly consures a king who is too much attached to women. He cites several instances of kings who were killed by their queens 62. Dice-playing was another veritable source of danger. In the Mahabharata we have well-known examples of Yudhishthira and Nala. All the great Brahmanical authorities like Kautilya 65, Manu 66, and Kamandaka have mentioned this particular vice. Wine, women, gambling and hunting are the four principal vices which according to Manu⁶⁸ are to be strictly avoided. The same authority asserts that gamblers are open rogues and the king should not show any leniency towards them. Elsewhere also 70 we get a similar statement. As regards wine-drinking, our law-givers are less liberal than our poets and dramatists. It is, however, doubtful whether the kingsof pre-Muslim India ever forsook liquor. Kautilya believes that drinking is a more heinous practice than addiction to women. Rude speech has also been condemned by all law givers. Somedeve clearly states that rude speech was worse than an injury caused by a weapon. The author of the Nisitha Gurni that rude speech was dangerous as it created dissatisfaction amongst the intelligentia and could bring destruction to a state. Jinadasa also asks kings to refrain from giving severe punishment (atiuggadanda). Misappropriation of funds has also been strongly disapproved by both Jinadasa and Somadeva. In Kashmirian history, told in the Rajatarangini we are confronted with the example of king Jayapida, (8th century) in the later part of his reign, who was ruined because he had plundered the wealth of his subjects. Another glaring example

is that of king Harsha (11th century) who was much worse than Jayapida in this respect. 78

Somadeva, while giving a detailed explanation of these vices (<u>vyasana</u>) assetts, "A single <u>vyasana</u> is enough to destroy a powerful king who may be possessing four kinds of armies, needless to say if all of them are combined".

The king, undoubtedly occupied the highest position in the body-politic of the state. He was the supreme head of all military. judicial, political and administrative activity in the kingdom. Dhanapala. the celebrated Jain author of the Tilakamaniari gives us a realistic account of the daily routine followed by a king. Let us remember that although this work was apparently written in the first quarter of the 11th century, its author wrote his earlier work Paivalacchi in Vikrama 1029 corresponding to 972 A.D., when Manyakheta was sacked by the Malava army. 80 He was not only honoured by Bhoga but also by Munja, who died before 995 A.D. Thus, his evidence may be said to pertain to our period. From his description, it appears, that the first few hours of the day was spent by the king in personal purification and devotion to gods and religious teachers. Then he granted interviews to all important persons and officials like religious brahmanas, ministers, feudatories, kinsmen and other citizens. Here the king dealt with important and secret business of his kingdom, and also held talks with foreign ambassadors and gave donations to the needy people. After this, he generally visited the temples of the city and inspected the departments of public works. At mid-day, he returned to his palace and after distributing food and alms to mendicants, he took his bath with meticulous care and then his meal, which was

specially prepared for him. Then he retired to the picture galleries (danta-valabhikā) for enjoyment and relaxation. There he enjoyed music and poetic discussions. In the afternoon, he attended the general court (asthanamandapa) where he transacted the business of state, interviewed foreign potentates and met the general public. Sometimes, purely as a part of royal duty, he attended wrestling matches, elephant fights and other such pastimes. Thus, he passed the day in this manner and retired to bed in the late evening. 82

The <u>Prabandhacintamani</u> informs us that king Bhoja often met the general public and on such occasions his durbar was open to all and sundry. There was a <u>danamandapa</u> (translated as: Pavilion of distribution' by Tawney 85) from which he used to distribute wealth to the poor.

which show that the kings of early medieval India were seldom autocratic rulers. They had great respect for the sentiment of their subjects. A story recorded in the <u>Kuvalavamala</u> shows that a king did not hesitate to send his son to the execution ground for committing adultery with the daughter-in-law of a merchant. Such deference for a subject's feelings is also proved by the earlier stories of Asamanjas narrated in the <u>Mahabharata</u>, so and that of Sitas banishment by Rama in the last book of the <u>Ramavana</u>. Another anecdote of the <u>Kuvalavamala</u> reveals how a king with the assistance of the crown-prince did his best to protect his subjects from the depredation by robbers. Such examples can easily be multiplied. They clearly prove that the early medieval kings of India like the famous monarchs of the epico-puranic period,

did not leave any stone unturned to alleviate the sufferings of their subjects. In fact, we come across the expression <u>durbalanam balam</u> raja in the <u>Kuvalavamala</u> itself. 90

Not only was the king mindful of his people's welfare and conscious of his duties towards them, it was also necessary for him to obtain the counsel of his ministers in matters of administration. Somadeva says that it is impolitic for a king to neglect the counsel of his ministers. Such a king will soon find himself overwhelmed by foes. His obstinacy will plunge him into ruin. The next check on royal despotism was in the form of the feudal nobility and prominent persons of the state, who aided by the people could defy a tyrannical monarch through armed rebellion.

Somadeva in his <u>Nitivakyamrta</u>⁹² states that realization of <u>trivarga</u> i.e. <u>Dharma</u>, <u>Artha</u> and <u>Kama</u> was the ideal of a state. A king was advised to follow these moderately so an not to injure the interests of each other.

One of the foremost duties of a king is his executive functions. The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> tells us that the important officials of the state and members of the personal staff were appointed by the king himself; he fixed their salaries and could also give increment in recognition of meratorious services. ⁹³ The king was the Lord of the treasury and the coffers of an able monarch was supposed to be always full. The king was authorised to levy taxes, he could also excuse or allow the same to be paid later. ⁹⁴ The chief duty of the king was to protect the people from both external and internal dangers and to see that law and order prevailed in society.

Somedeva says, "He is a king who takes the place of Indra towards the well-disposed and the place of Yama against the ill-disposed. For. the king's duty is to punish the wicked and protect the learned and well-behaved, not shaving his head or wearing matted hair 95 Moreover, the author of the Nitivakvamrta feels that the ensure life and order, he (the king) should wield his danda neither sternly nor tenderly but impartially. Jinadasa, on the other hand, comments that a king unable to discharge the function of protecting the state and its people, deserved to be condemned. "(avasa). He further quotes the famous dictum - "How can king be a king who does not protect the state (ko raya vo na rakkhati)". 98 Somadeva appears to agree whole-heartedly with his predecessor when he states. "the king should adopt all possible measures to protect the world, that alone is counted as the basis of kingship". 99 The king however, not only protected the state from external and internal hazards but also from natural calamities. We learn from the Puratana-prabandha-sangraha that Visaladeva the Vaghela king, averted a famine by timely help. 100

Besides his role of protector of the nation, the king had other arduous duties to perform. Though assisted by a commander-in-chief (mahabaladhikrta), the king was the ultimate head of the army. He often led his armies to the battle-field in person. This act of personally leading his troops has been compared by Somadeva with the Asvamedha sacrifice. 102

The king was also the supreme authority on all judicial matters, and his judgement could not be overruled. The laws of the country were framed by the king according to the customs of the land.

Any person defying these laws was liable to severe punishment. 103

There are several instances in the <u>Nisitha Curni</u>, a 7th century text, which show the king confiscating the property of the people, banishing them or even putting them to death for trivial offences. Off this connexion a passage of the Buddhist text <u>Millindapanho</u> written in the early centuries of the Christian eta, is quite illustrative.

According to this passage, even for a minor effence against the king, the offender could be killed along with his entire family. From these statements, it is apparent, that kings enjoyed great power, but, as we have already seen, there were certain restrictions imposed by our law-givers and political theorists, to prevent them from becoming tyrannical.

Apart from the above functions, the king was also responsible for the social, cultural and moral well-being of his subjects. Quite often we find kings giving donations to Brahmanas, 106 organizing religions debates, administering judgements on such debates, 107 arranging various festivals and also participating in social functions. 108 Patronage of arts, education etc. was also an integral part of a king's daily life. Many of these early medieval kings like Paramara Munja, Bhoja etc., were renowned for the honour they conferred on men of letters. Dhanapala, the poet of the work, Tilakamanjari, speaking of himself, says, that he was honoured by king Munja with the title of Sarasvati. 109 In addition to Dhanapala, Amitagati, the author of the Subhasita-ratna-sandoha and other works, Padmagupta, the writer of the Nava-Sahasanka-carita, Dhananjaya, the composer of Dasarupaka, his brother Dhanika, the author of Dasarupavaloka, Halayudha, the commentator on Pingala's work on metrics, were among the jewels that adorned the court of Vakpati Munja. Munja, himself, was no mean literary figure and several Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsa verses ascribed to him are

preserved in the <u>Prabandhacintamani</u> and the <u>Puratana-prabandha-sangragha</u>.

His very epithet '<u>vakpati</u>' is significant and indicates his live for the Goddess of Learning.

Another sacred duty of the king was to ensure proper maintenance of the asramas and provide the monks and recluses with necessary requirements. The author of the Nisitha Curni echoing the sentiments of Kalidasa assetts, "the hermits are to be protected by the king (raya-rakkhiyani ya tavadhanani)" and also believes that any physical injury to the harmits could bring disgrace to the king. 110 This concern for the welfare of cenobites formed a part of the king's religious duties. Though not the head of a religion or Church, the king exercised a great influence in religious matters. The preachers of various religious sect always tried to influence the king with their own tenets in order to convert him to their faith. There existed a strong conviction that "the subjects follow the king in every matter including religion". 112 Somadeva, however, lays great stress on the king's religious duties. Not only should be apply himself to the study of anvikshiki and trayi but also protect the svadherma of his subjects whereby he can realize trivarga. 113 Svadharma is the particular duty of each individual, in every group. In this respect, the 10th-century author of the Nitivakvamrta also enumerates samana-dharma, i.e. the duties common to all castes such as kindness, truthfulness, obstaining from other's property etc. By protecting the gradharma and gamana-dharma of his subjects, the king receives one-sixth of the religious merit of his people. 114 Barring a few exceptions, the kings of this age were not sectarians

or hostile towards religions other than their own. The monarchs of the early medieval period usually professed one of the contemporary religious systems and their religious zeal is apparent from the large sums of money that were spent in the erection of temples dedicated to their favourite deities and saints.

Thus, we may conclude that the duties and functions of the king were as varied as his powers, and that a high moral and spiritual standard was required of him. Occasional references to unworthy and inimical sovereigns (duttha-raya, rayadutta, vasani-narimda) show that not all kings lived up to the ideal set for them.

Before a new king was installed on the throne certain rituals and celebrations were performed. Abhisheka or anointing was the first among them. Jinadasa, in the Nisitha Curni comments that the coronation of a king or emperor was styled mahabhisheka while that of the crown-prince or feudatory was known as abhisheka. 116 The Jains, though they have little faith in the Vedic rituals, advocate a simple ceremony of anointing. Water from the Ganga, Sindhu and other rivers (sacred to the Brahmanas) mixed with camphor, sandal and the essence of different kinds of flowers was poured on the head of the monarch by other kings, fendatories, ministers, merchants, princes and other respectable citizens. The members of the eighteen guilds performed the anointing of the king's feet only. The ascetics of all the religious sects also called on the King at the time of his coronation. 117 So, the

auspicious occasion, the capital was astir with songs, music and dance.

The king possessed certain royal insignia like chatra (royal umbrella),

camara (a pair of flywhisks) and simhasana (throne) which indicated

his regal power 118

In the early medieval period, kings assumed high sounding titles. As early as the Mduryan times, even mighty emperors like Aśoka were content with the title raja, but, it seems, gradually from the Kushana period the appellation 'king of kings' (rajatiraja) grew popular. The Gupta monarchs as evident from their epigraphs and coins assumed the popular title of maharajadhiraja . In the Brhatsamhita, written in the early 6th century A.D. Dravyavardhana, the king of Avanti is given the same title. The epigraphs of our period show kings investing themselves with titles such as paramabhattaraka , paramesvara, maharajadhiraja and many other epithets connected with their religious belief. The Caulukya kings for example, assumed such titles as Umapativaralabdhaprasada, siddharaja, paramesvara, tribhuvanaganda, maharajadhiraha, paramabhattaraka, Parvatipriyavaralabdhaprasada, etc. For Jain emperor Kumarapala we have some special titles in the Jain epigraphs and alecolophons; for example susravaka. Jinasasanaprabhavaka and paramasravaka etc. 120 The contemporary Paramara and Kalacuri kings also assumed various titles. For example, Paramara Munja had the 121
title <u>Sarasvati</u>. The Jain works of our period also confer flamboyant titles on the kings. In the Kuvalayamala, king Drdhavarman is given the titles of maharajadhiraja and paramesvara which remind us of the titles of the famous king Harshavardhana. A peculiar epithet makaradhvajamaharajadhiraja is attributed to one Vijayasena in the Kuvalayamala. From the Jain manuscripts of the medieval period we

learn of many such lofty titles of kings. These designations, however, not only bestowed upon the king a divine prestige and right to rule over the people, but also surrounded his person and position with an aura of invincibility and magnificence that would awe any ordinary mortal.

The evidence of Yuan Chwang, as mentioned earlier, clearly shows that in the seventh century not only Kshatriyas but also Brahmana, Vaisya and even Sudra kings reigned in different parts of this sub-continent. This pattern apparently remained unchanged even in the later period.

That kingship was hereditary is known not only from 126 contemporary inscriptions but also from the Jain works of our time. However, it should not be supposed that the eldest son always succeeded his father. Somadeva emphatically states that no prince should be installed as heir-apparent, howsoever well-born he may be, unless he is qualified for the great trust. During our period this dictum was followed to a large extent. We know from the Harshacarita that because of his exemplary qualities Harsha was able to achieve the distinction of wearing the crown of Thanesvar; similarly the Paramara king Munja, appointed his nephew Bhoja as his successor owing to the latter's good qualities. Likewise, the Caulukya Durlabharaja installed his nephew Bhima I on the throne, who, in turn, bestowed the crown on his second son Karna.

As regards succession, Somadeva gives the following order of inheritance- son, brother, step-brother, paternal uncle,

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daughter's son (dauhitra) and in the absence of all of them a qualified outsider could succeed the king. Very often, heirless kings were advised by their ministers to beget sons through monks.

Another way of selecting an heir to a vacant throne 131 and 131. In this form of succession a royal horse or elephant was invested with all the auspicious articles required for the coronation and was left by the officials to roam about the city to select a suitable person. In the story of the robber Muladeva told in the Nisitha Curni we have a beautiful example of such practice. Jinadasa tells us that when the robber Muladeva was being taken round the city before his execution, the royal horse and an elephant which had been released, as the king had died issue-less, upon meeting the prisoner behaved strangely. The horse neighed and turned its back towards him, whilst the elephant transpeted and sprinkled sacred water over his body and placed him on its back. He was then publicly proclaimed as their sovereign by the royal bards and ministers.

Many such instances are found in the Jain and other ancient texts.

Usually the wish of a departing king was respected and this is proved by the Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta, according to which, Samudragupta was especially selected by his father to succeed him, a decision which made a few princes of equal birth (tulvakulaja) unhappy but not the members of the court(sabhya) who applauded the decision of the dying king (in this case Candragupta I) with deep sighs of happiness. Govinda III, the redoubtable Rashtrakuta king, although not the eldest son, succeeded his father to the throne. Sometimes, however, the dying king's wishes were not

honoured as in the instance of Kumarapala. Also we know that, at times, extraordinary circumstances resulted in the people themselves choosing their leader. Here, we may cite the example of Gopala I (8th century) king of Bengal and founder of the Pala dynasty, who was selected by the people because of the prevailing matsya - 136 As we have noted earlier, this particular expression matsyanyaya occours in the Adhipurana of Jinasena I, a contemporary Jain work. In case the heir - apparent was a minor, we find the queen mother officiated as regent.

Kings are sometimes depicted, by a few Jain works of our period, as abdicating in favour of the heir - apparent and and spending their lives in religious pursuits. The <u>Prabhavakarcarita</u> states that king Ama, successor of Yasovarman of Kanauj, renounced his crown in favour of his son, Dunduka, and spent his life in pious activities. Similarly, the <u>Dyvasrava-kavya</u> relates that king Durlabharaja relinguished the throne to his nephew Bhima and adopted a devout life. Likewise, Bhima I is known to have abdicated in favour of his second son Karna.

Princes, i.e. the king's sons, were variously called rajaputra, kumara, nrpakumara, maharajakumara in Jain literature and inscriptions. The crown - prince or <u>yuvaraja</u> after completing his studies was usually given charge of an office to gain experience in administration. There are instances in Jain colophons and inscriptions which show princes sharing in the administration with their father! Younger princes were normally granted certain portions of the state for their maintenance.

Section(iii): Personnel Officers of the King

The Nisitha Curni and the Tilakamanjari , two well-known works of our period, draw a vivid picture of the royal palace and gives a list of officers connected with the upkeep and management. Rajakula signifying the palace and its sorroundings was the centre of state-politics. The palace (bhavana, pasada) was provided with every conceivable amenities for comfort, was surrounded by walls and mosts (prakara, parikha) and was guarded by royal guards (arakkhiva - purisa). It was decorated with gardens and parks, and its floor was studded with precious stones and jewels. Skilled architects (vaddhakiravana) were employed to plan the royal palace in such a manner that the temperature did not vary throughout the year. According to the Tilakamanjari the charge of the palace was entrusted to an experienced officer known as saudhapala, but the entrance and exit of the palace was guarded by the dvarapala.

The most important part of the royal household was the Harem. The chief queen was known as rajamahishi (rannomahisi) or mahadevi. Probably she also underwent some sort of coronation ceremony along with the king. The remark of Prabhavatidevi, the chief queen of Prabhakaravardhana in the Harshacarita is significant. She says, "Upon this head have the subservient wives of countless feudatories poured coronation water from golden ewers. This forehead, in winning the honourable fillet of chief - queen, has enjoyed a thing scaree accessible to desire". According to the Nisitha-Curni the royal harem (oroha,amteura) was divided into three

section - a) junna - amteura, b) nava - amteura and c) kanna - amteura. In the first resided the old ladies unfit for sexual relationship; the second was for the young wives in full bloom of their youth, while, the third was occupied by the daughters of the royal family who had not yet reached maturity.

Section (iv) : Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers variously styled as parisa 152 or mantrimandals 153 formed an important limb of the body politic in the early medieval period. All the law-givers contend that "even an intelligent king cannot know everything, the king, therefore, should enlist the help of competent ministers". 154 Somadeva, emphasizes the importance of the royal council by stating that, "every enterprise of the king should be preceded by deliberation with councillors 155 and with the help of the council of ministers the king can achieve all the wishful objects. 156

Regarding the size of the ministry the earliest work to shed any light is the Ramayana 157 according to which Dasaratha had eight ministers. The Mahabharata 158 also recommends eight ministers; Kautilya, as apparent from a passage of his Arthasastra 159 advocates a smaller ministry of three or four members, although elsewhere, 60 he says, that the question of the size of the ministry should be left to the discretion of the king. Thus, Kautilya's statements suggest that in earlier times there existed both small and big cabinets. Manu, as quoted by Kautilya, recommends a ministry of twelve, although in the present Manusamhita 161 the number given is seven or eight. The Sukraniti 162 advocates a

ministry of ten members. In this connection a passage of the 1st—century Buddhist work Milindapanho 165 is quite relevant. According to it, among hundreds of officials of a monarch only six are genuinely important. They are senapati, prime minister, chief justice, chief treasurer, umbrella-bearer, and chief body-guard. This passage probably shows that all these persons were members of the king's cabinet. The exclusion of purchita is quite significant. However, is the later period, purchita came to be included in the cabinet. 164

A somewhat late Jain work viz. the <u>Hammira_Mahakavva</u> 165 of Nayacandra informs us that the ministry of Hammira consisted of eight ministers. The well-known Jain political thinker of our period. Somadeva, in his <u>Nitivakyamrte</u> is also not sure as to the exact size of the cabinet and gives three different figures - 3, 5 and 7, ... Another Jain writer of this period viz. Jinadasa in the Nisitha Curni shares Somadeva's penchant for a small ministry by restricting the members of the king's council to 3 and 7. Jinadasa states that the king enjoyed the rights of kingship along with the crown-prince (yuvarava), the commander-in-chief (senapati) the prime minister (amatva), the purchita, the setthi and the satthavaha 167 In this context we must refer to the observation of Medhatithi, 9th century A.D.) the celebrated commentator of Manu, that a very large ministry is undesirable. This view is also strongly supported by Somadeva, 169 who considers that too many ministers are more of a hindrance than help to the monarch.

The councils of this period generally consisted of the king and his prime minister and other councillors like <u>purchits</u>, <u>sendhivigrabikamatva</u>, <u>senapati</u>, <u>mahakshapatalika</u>, and <u>yuvaraja</u>.

Some of these persons are also included in the list of people mentioned in the <u>Nisitha Curni</u> as being the senior most authorities in the state. These were the king (<u>rava</u>), the crown prince (<u>vuvaraja</u>), prime minister (<u>amacca</u>), <u>setthi</u> and <u>purchita</u>. 170 Elsewhere in the same work, two other officials viz. <u>senapati</u> (commander-in-chief) and <u>satthavaha</u> (chief caravan-leader) are also included in the list. Somadeva, however, discourages the inclusion of <u>senapati</u> or military personnel in the council. He says, "Military authorities should not be authorities in political councils," for "war-mongering leaders have a natural hankering after war". 171

As to the choice of ministers, all the earlier authorities are unanimous on the point that they should be of noble birth. Kautilya quotes the view of some writers like Visalaksha. Parasara, Pisuna, Kaunapadenta, Vatavyadhi and Bahudantiputra. 172 Kautilya agrees with the last-mentioned teacher when he says that a king shall employ as ministers such as are born of high family and possessed wisdom (praina), purity of purpose, bravery and loyal feelings, in as much as ministeral appointments shall purely depend on qualifications. Similar statements can be found everywhere in the Santi and Annsasanaparvans of the Mahabharata. It is interesting to note that Kautilya never says that Brahmana alone should be employed as ministers. However, in most cases only brahmanas were appointed as ministers. We know from literature that even kings with Buddhistic learnings like Ajatasatmu 173 had arahmana ministers. Candragupta Maurya's ministry boasted the redoubtable Canakya. The Nandas, who were Sudras, also employed Grahmanas as their mantring. In the Gupta period we definitely know that, Frahmanas served as ministers under

the kings of this imperial dynasty. The Karamdanda inscription dated G.E. 117 (436 A.D.) 174 of the time of Kumaragupta I informs us that kumaramatya, Pimarasvamin, a Brahmana of the asvavaji gotza was the mantrin of Candragupta II. His son kumaramatya Prthivisana, in his turn was the mantrin of Kumaragupta himself. 175 On the other hand, Somadeva, in his Nitivakvamrta 176 tells us, that persons belonging to the three higher castes viz., Brahmanas, kshatriyas and Waisyas were eligible to become ministers. Let us not forget that these three castes were called dvijas in ancient India. That non-Brahmanas were sometimes elevated to this enviable position, in this period, is proved by the history of the Gujarat king, Vanaraja, (8th century A.D.) who appointed one Jamba, a merchant (vanij) by caste as his prime minister (mahamatya). This interesting information is provided by the well-known historical poem <u>Prabandhacintamani</u> of Merutunga. The decendants of Jamba also held high posts during the rule of later kings of Gujarat like Siddharaja and Kumarapala. 178 The son Vaisya Udayena called Vasbhatadeva was the prime minister of Kumarapala. 179 In other parts of India, however, we find grahmana ministers. The Buddhist Pala kings of Bengel were served by hereditary brahmana ministers as we learn from one of the Badal Pillar inscriptions. King Munja (second half of the 10th century A.D.) had grahmana Rudraditya as his minister.

In his <u>Yasastilakacampu</u>, Somadeva cautions against appointing low-born persons as ministers. One of the reasons cited by him for the minister's corruption is that the man belonged to an oilman's family. It is therefore apparent that even Jain law-givers were aware of the importance of birth. This noted writer further





asserts that a minister should also be a native (svadesajam) of the country be served, as a foreigner cannot be trusted on vital matters. 183 Moreover, according to Somadeva, a minister must be endowned with the following virtues. He should be free from carnal desire (avvasanin), reliable and courageous. 184 He must also possess theoretical and practical knowledge (adhitakhila vyavahara tantram), and be able to comprehend military problems (astrajňam). 185

The purchita or royal priest was mainly responsible for the religious, moral and cultural well-being of the state, and was instrumental in warding off natural and super-natural calamities (asiva) by performing sacrifices and rituals. 186 While describing the qualities of the purchita, Somadeva seems to follow his illustrious predecessor Kautilya. He states that the purchita should be a person whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well-educated in the Vedas and the six Angas, is skillful in interpreting portents, providential or accidental, is well versed in the science of government and who is obedient and can prevent calamities of all kinds. 187 Another work the Thanamga 188 defines purchita as santikarmakarin i.e. one who performed rites for the peace of the nation. The Vivagasuva, tells us, that a sacrifice was performed by Mahesaradatta, the priest of king Jayaratha, to avert his misfortune. Alteker, however, has expressed the opinion that by this time the position of the priest deteriorated and he has pointed out that "the post-Gupta inscriptions usually distinguish him from ministers showing that he was no longer a member of the ministry". 190 Nonetheless, that the <u>purchita</u> still exercised a profound influence on the state and the king, in this period, is evident from the testimony of several contemporary Jain writers.

The exact term generally used to denote the prime minister in the early medieval period was mahamatva. As we have already mentioned, the prime minister of Vanaraja (8th century A.D.), the king of Gujarat, was <u>mahamatva</u> Jamba. 191 In other Caulukyan records 192 also the prime minister is called mahamatra, but sometimes a mahamatra acted as a local governor. 195 The Nisitha Curni. 194 a 7th century work, uses the term mahamamti (Prakrit) to denote a prime minister . Another term for prime minister used in this period is mahabradhana, which is found in the Paramara epigraphs. The position of the prime minister in this period was very important. We know from the Jain incriptions and from a number of Jain colophons that he was in-charge of the management of state affairs (samastya vyaparan paripanthayati or srikaranadin sanastya vyaparan kurvati). He was also authorised to transact the royal seal and signet. Such a powerful dignitary was the prime minister that he could even make or unmake the king. We find that Visaladeva Vaghela was installed on the throne by Tajahpala, who afterwards earned the title of rajasthapanacarva Vastupala and Tejahapala, according to Vasantavilasa 199 had been appointed by Viradhavala Voghela as the srikaranadhinathas (incharge of srikarana 'central secretariat'). The name of Tejahpala was also mentioned in the grants of feudatory lords, a fact which openly reveals the power wielded by this energetic minister of the Vaghela king. In this context we may refer to some other eminent prime ministers of contemporary monarchs, such as Umapatidhara, the prime minister of Lakshamanasena, the famous Sena ruler of Bengal, Rudraditya of Paramara Munja, Vidyadhara of Jayacandra Gahadyala, Vagbhata of Kumarapala etc. The king always

consulted him on all vital matters. Besides the prime minister, there were other ministers who managed the different departments of state.

It has been pointed out that in ancient India terms ? like amatva, saciva, mantrin etc. were used indiscriminately to denote a minister. The Jain poet Dhanapala, in his <u>Tilakamanjari</u> term buddhi-sacivas to designate a minister. This particular word, it is extremely significant to note, is found in Medhatithi's commentary on the Manusamhita. The Prabandhacintamani on the other hand, supplies a very novel term for a minister viz. rajavrddhag. We also come across a few other terms such as karva-sacivas, amatyavrddhas 204 amatvavarya from the Jain literature of this period. It is very interesting to note that in the Amarakosa it is stated that all amatyas other than mantrins are called karmasacivas i.e. ministers for action or execution. In all likelihood, karmasacivas and karva-sacivas were synonymous. In the Nisitha Curni, we also find the terms amacca, saciva, and manti 208 interchangeably used which according to Madhu Sen simply denoted the other ministers of the state. These ministers usually headed different departments. Somadeva says that income, expenditure, royal safety and maintenance of order were the chief concern of these ministers. These ministers also looked after the affairs of the provinces and sometimes were called ministers of these provinces. 211

Apart from the <u>purchite</u> and <u>mahamatya</u> the two other important councillors of the king were the <u>senapati</u> and the <u>sandhivigrahika</u>. Their appointment naturally demanded the existence of certain special qualities in the prospective candidate. Somadeva rightly stresses on some basic qualifications. Regarding the <u>senapati</u>, he says, that an aspirant should be born of a high family, be pure in

character, endowed with genius, devotion, truthfulness, purity and valour: influential, possessing a large family, knowing how to use his policies and devices, trained in all sorts of vehicles, weapons, battles, alphabets and languages. He should know his position as well as the position of enemies, possess a giant and healthy body, be loved by all officers, be faithful to his master and to the interest of the country and be able to bear all sorts of troubles and exertions, undaunted by men either of his own acquaintance or his enemies. 212 The senapati or war-minister, also, according to Jinadasa was an influential member of the king's cabinet who was consulted on all important matters of the state. 213 In this particular text, he is variously called senapati. 214 senadhina and mahabaladhikrta. 215 In the inscriptions of the Guptas 216 and the Maitrakas. 217 mahabaladhikrta is a common nomenclature of the commander-in-chief. Somadeva, however, as we have noted earlier, did not favour the inclusion of the senapati in the royal council.

Regarding the <u>sandhivigrahika</u>, (ambassador) another notable functionary, Somadeva says knowledge of grammer and logic, an influential position, expressiveness, fluency in speech, genius, discretionary power, knowledge of most of the languages and alphabets, knowledge of time, place and varnasrama, intelligence in repid reading and writing, were the essential qualities of an ambassador. 218 On behalf of the king, it was the <u>sandhivigrahika</u> who signed treaties and conducted foreign negotiations. 219

We have already noted that Jinadasa, the celebrated author of the Nisitha Curni includes two other personages in the king's council viz. the setthi 220 and satthevaha 221 The setthi was a

professional guilds 222 and was invested with a golden patta by the king which was inscribed with the image of the goddess 51.223 Satthavaha was the chief caravan leader, who took caravans abroad with the permission of the monarch. 224 Needless to say, that these two representatives of the business community acquired a high social and political status because of their economic prosperity and assistance to the state. Thus, it is but logical that they should form an integral part of the king's advisory body. Moreover, it is quite clear from the extensive Jain and other literature of the early medieval period that the business communities gradually assumed an important role in the political life and administration of this age.

An extremely striking feature of this period was that theoffice of the councillors was generally hereditary. Vimala, the <u>dandanatha</u> of Caulukya Bhima I, had his long heritage from the time of Vanaraja. Also, the ministers of Kumarapala were the sons of former ministers. Somesvara, the <u>purchita</u> of Bhima II, claimed his parentage in the service of the Caulukyas.

Section (v): Provincial and Village Administration.

The Jain works and epigraphs of our period throw considerable light on provincial, town and village administration.

Inscriptions of the Gupta period show that the provinces or states were ruled by governors, who sometimes assumed the title of maharaja or even Goptries. We have the title of uparikamaharajas, who were two, provincial governors.

The districts were under vishavapatis,

who sometimes held the titles <u>kumaramatya</u> or <u>ayuktaka</u>. In the later period, the governors of provinces were known as mahamandalesvara or mandalesvara. The governors were also known as dandanayaka or dandapati as Vimala, who constructed the Jain Abu temple in V.S. 1080, was a governor under Bhima I, the Gaulukya emperor. The provincial governors exercised wide powers and had their own council of ministers as we learn from the Jain romance the Tilakamanjari of Dhanpalar who flourished between 960 and 1020 A.D. Afterwards, governors like Lavanaprasada, Viradhavala and also Vastupala. who were under Caulukya emperors, practically behaved like independent kings. We have, for example, separate inscriptions of Viradhavala and Vastupala. In any case, there is reason to believe that in the post-Gupta and the early medieval period, provincial governors wielded considerable power. It should further be remembered that after 600 A.D., there were very few big empires, barring the empires of the Gurjara Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas, and naturally the sovereign kings had to depend heavily on their provincial governors.

The district - administration was carried out by the <u>samantas</u> or <u>vishayapatis</u>. The term <u>samanta</u> is pretty old as it occurs in texts like the <u>Mahabharata</u> and <u>Manusmrti</u>. The early Jain work, namely the <u>Paumacariyan</u> of Vimala throws considerable light on the <u>samantas</u>, who had to help their overlords with their forces and they were also consulted by their sovereigns on important occasions. Sometimes, they also acted as <u>dutas</u> (messengers). The <u>Sukraniti</u> mentions even <u>anusamantas</u> (sub-feudal lords). The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> has the words <u>visayarakkiya</u> and

desarakkhiva for district-administrator. Even it mentions a new term called desakutta. In the Gupta inscriptions, we have the term vishayapati, for the district-administrator. The vishayapatis collected government revenues and other cesses and maintained peace and order within his jurisdiction. It has been observed that the term vishayapati was synonymous with rajasthaniva of the inscriptions.

The cities were administered in the early medieval period by an official called <u>puradhyaksha</u>. The <u>Samaraiccakaha</u> mentions ene such city-administrator. We have in the same work of Haribhadra, the name of another city-official called <u>nagararakshaka</u>. Among other city-officials we get such names as <u>talara, dandapasika</u>, rajapurusha, <u>karanika</u> etc. The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> mentions city-officials like <u>nayaramahalla</u>, <u>puramahalla</u> etc. 245

The Jain works of our period, give us a very good idea about villages of India in those days. The Adipurana of Jinasena I, composed in the early 9th century explains in the 16th chapter the terms grama, pura, rajadhani, kheta, kharvata, pattana, madamba, dronamukha, sambaha etc. He mentions two types of gramas or villages, the first with a population comprising one hundred families (kula or grha) called nikrshta or jaghanva (inferior type of village) and the second with a population of five hundred families called susamrddha (prosperous). Kautilya also in his Arthsastra gives these two extremes, namely, the smallest with a population of one hundred kulas and the largest with five hundred kulas or families. Therefore, there is little doubt that the Indian villages did not undergo any fundamental change so far

period to that of the Gurjara Pratiharas. That some of the villages in ancient India were quite populous is proved by the testimony of Arrism, the historian of Alexander, according to whom, the population of some villages varied between 5000 and 10000. Jinasena I also gives us the interesting information that the majority of the population of the villages are either Sudras or agriculturalists (karshaka). Kautilya also says the same thing. However, the members of the higher castes also lived in quite large numbers in villages. This is also amply borne out by the evidence of the epigraphs. Hundreds of inscriptions of this period, found from all over India, show that Brahmanas, Vaisyas and other castes also used to live in villages and the gramas, of this period, enjoyed rare prosperity.

The puras, according to Jinasena should be surrounded by parikha (moat) and must have gopura, attalaka and different types of building (bhavana). It should be surrounded by rampart (vapraprakaramanditam) and should have gardens and lakes. The gardens were meant for the beautification of the terms and the lakes were used for various purposes. It should be situated at a proper place. The sloping of the town should be towards north-east to enable water to flow inthat direction. The khetas (a type of small town) are those types of towns which are surrounded by the river and mountain and the kharvatas by mountains only.

According to Kautilya, the kharvatikas the same as Jinasenab kharvata) are towns in the midst of two hundred villages. This is

also, the opinion of Jinasena. Both Jinasena 257 and Kautilya opine that dronamukha is a town which has four hundred villages as its dependencies and the capital city should be twice a size of a dronamukha, which may be termed as a town of middle size. For the capital or the metropolitan city Kautilya uses the word sthaniva and Jinasena rajadhani. The word rajadhani though not found in the Arthsastra occurs in the earlier Books of the and also the <u>Mahabharata</u>. There is little doubt Pali canon that Kautilya's sthaniya and Jinasena's rajadhani carry the same meaning. Another term found in the Adipurana 263 of Jinasena is madamba, which is the name of a type of town described as the centre of five hundred villages. In the later Jain commentary of the <u>Vyavaharasutra</u> 264 by Malayagiri (a contemporary of Hemcandr 265 a madamba is explained as consisting of eighteen thousand villages, an obvious exaggeration. The sangraha according to Jinasena consisted of ten villages. It is the same as sangrahana of the Arthasastra .

We have noted earlier some aspects of the town and provincial administration revealed in the Jain works of our period. Let us now terms our attention to what the Jain and other contemporary writers of this period have to say regarding the administration of the villages.

From the Vedic period, the village administration was generally under an official called gramani. It has been conjectured that he was probably a royal nominee in early times and the post was hereditary. From the evidence of the later Vedic

texts like the <u>Taittiriva Samhita</u>²⁶⁹ and <u>Maitrayani Samhita</u>, it appears that Gramani probably belonged to the Vaisya caste. understands by this term both the leader of the village (gramadhipa) and a barber (napita). Thefefore, there is little doubt that Gramani was in the Gupta period, the most important village official. connected with the day-to-day administration, of the village, which is the smallest administrative unit of ancient and medieval India. It appears that, with the passage of time, the term Gramani was replaced by such terms as bhoja(bhojaka) or mayahara (mahattara). 272 The term Bhojaka appears in the early Jain Kadamba records of the 5th century. 273 As pointed out by J. C. Jain, 274 the expression Bhojaka or gamabhojaka occurs in the 5th century Pali commentaries and also Jain canonical texts and commentaries. Along with Bhojaka, we have also, in the Jain works, the expression gamauda, which is equivalent to gramakuta or gramakutaka. remembered that there are several epigraphic references, dating from at least 8th century, to the term gramakuta. further been opined by fleet that the kanerese word gavunda or gavunda has ultimately come from gramakuta. Another similar term was gamagoha, which we find in the Desinamamala written by the great Jain savant Hemacandra 280 J. C. Jain, 281 quoting from the Bhrtakalpabhasya 282 says that the sabha or gramasabha was the centre of the village.

Let us now discuss the very interesting term pancakula, which is not even mentioned in the famous dictionary of Monier-Williams. However the term actually occurs in several epigraphs and a few literary texts, including some Jain works.

The earliest reference to it is found in Bana's Harshacarita 283

However the meaning of that term, as used in that work of Bena, is obscure. The Samaraiccakaha 284 of Haribhadra however uses it in the actual sense and it is also mentioned in an a contemporary epigraph (i.e. of the 8th century). As noted by A. K. Majumdar, 286 the pancakula occurs several times in the Siyadoni inscriptions of the Gurjara Pratihara kings, dated in the early 10th century. It is of great interest to note that the technical administrative term pancakula also occurs in the 10th century Jain text called the Brhatkathakośa, written by Digambara Harishena. pancakula obviously reminds us of ashtakuladhikarana of Gupta epigraphs and atthakulaka of Buddhaghosa. The term rancamandali. found in the Sanchi stone inscription of Candragupta II, 290 dated Gupta year 93, corresponding to 412 A.D., is the nearest equivalent of the term pancakula. The is absolutely no doubt that pancakula is the same as modern pancavat.

Several other administrative officers like Talara, which according to Hemacandra is the same as nagara-rakshaka, Hindipaka, Grama-Thakura, which according to the Jain Abhavatilaka, Gani 294 is the same as gramapati etc., are mentioned in the Jain works. Numerous other administrative officers are mentioned in non-Jain epigraphic records of our period.

Section (vi): The Judiciary.

From quite early times, judiciary was regarded as an important part of the royal administration. This is evident both from Manu 295 and Kautilya. The kings in ancient India were

expected to be conversant with different types of laws. The author of the Arthasastra, particularly lays great stress on the correct and unbiased application of legal procedures. Both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang have spoken about crimes and punishments in ancient India. It is clear from the account of both these travellers that crimes were rarely committed in ancient India and the criminals had to undergo light or heavy punishments, according to the nature of crime. Yuan Chwang particularly, writing in the 7th century A.D., mentions the absence of capital punishment. According to him, 300 even for persons, plotting against the king, the highest punishment is only imprisonment for life. The earlier authors like Manu or Kautilya could not have dreamt of such light punishments. Even for a small offence against the sovereign, the Buddhist text the Milindapanha recommends the most severe type of capital punishment, including the close relatives of the offender. Therefore it appears that afterwards the punishments of the offenders became less severe and more humane.

The Jain canonical texts throw a flood of light on the judicial system of those days. As noted by J. C. Jain, 302 the term used for the law-suit is <u>vavahara</u>. The king is regarded as the supreme judge and even for ordinary offences, people sometimes approached the highest authority. 303 Sometimes even the Jain monks had to appear in the law courts. We have in the Avasvaka Curni, the story of Vaira's mother who complained against the Sangha for stealing her child. In the Jain commentaries, we hear of monks complaining against the prostitutes for trying to

seduce them. The Vibakasruta, particularly contain references to various types of crimes and punishments. There is little doubt that most severe punishments were meted out to even ordinary thieves and robbers. A particular robber thief called Vijaya is mentioned both in the Navadhammakahao and the Vipakasruta, 307 and the relevant passage of the Navadhammakahao shows that the prisoners were ill-treated in those days. The contains a vivid description of the instruments of torture and also the torture of prisoners by those instruments. It also mentions a notorious jailor called Duryodhana. 310 text falls us how a merchant's son was condemned to death by embracing a red-hot metal image of woman for making love with a prostitute, who was the king's favourite. Actually this punishment is also recommended by Manu. Therefore, it appears that the early Jain writers were well-acquainted with the laws of the land. However, sometimes the Brahmanical laws were not followed. The same Vipakasruta 313 (also called Vipakasutra) tells us how an influential Brahmana called Brhaspatidatta, the chief priest of Udayana, the famous king of Kausambi, was executed for making love with queen Padmavati, one of the wives of Udayana. It is well known that our Smrti texts do not recommend capital punishment for Brahmanas and, therefore, it appears that in actual practice, even the members of this particular caste could not avoid the gallows. Another similar example will be found in the drama Mrcchakatika. where the Brahmana Carudatta was ordered to be executed for killing the prostitute Vasantasena (who was actually not killed).

The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> 315 gives the important information

tried by the village officer (called gramakuta or gramamahattara), then by bhojika (a superior officer), then by mahabaladhikrta and lastly by the king himself. The karanapati mentioned in this 7th century text, 316 acted as chief justice on behalf of the king. Several karanikas, meaning judges or magistrates, worked under him. These karanikas, may be compared with the adhikarana, mentioned in the Mrcchakatika. It is further apparent from that play that the king himself directly appointed him 319 and could replace him by another judge. There is evidence to show that motivated judges, who deliberately gave bad judgements, could even be put to death by the sovereign. A story in the Kathasaritsagara 20 informs us how a judge (in this case a puradhyaksha) was killed by a king because of bad and motivated judgement.

That the poor people could not afford to get justice in the court, is clear not only from the Mrcchakatika (where Sakara boasts that his apponent Carudatta, being poor, will not be able to defend himself), but also from the Nisitha Curni. We are told by Jinadasa that the poor people were turned out by the servants (dutagas) of the court. That there was corruption in the courts is also clear from a sentence, uttered by Devasoma in another 7th century work, namely the Mattavilasaprahasana of Pallava Mahendravarman.

The Mrcchakatika shows that two officials, namely the Sreshthin and the Kavastha directly helped the judge (Adhikaranika) in judicial matters. The Sreshthin was probably

the chief merchant of the town and the <u>Kayastha</u> was the chief among the <u>lekhakas</u> or accountants. In the Damodarpur copper plates 325 of the Gupta period, we get a new expression, namely <u>Prathama-kayastha</u>, who evidently was a high-ranking administrative official and the evidence of the <u>Mrcchakatika</u> proves that he was also associated with judiciary. Another point, which should be noted in this connexion is this that, even subordinate judges (like that one in the <u>Mrcchakatika</u>) could pass death-sentences, without referring the matter to the king.

Haribhadra's Samaraiccakaha (first half of the 8th century) also throws some light on the judicial system prevailing in the early medieval period. Here also, we are told, some officials or any minister investigated serious judicial matters, in the preliminary stage, and those were afterwards referred to the king for his final judgement. Sometimes even influential persons of the town could judge a minor case. For serious offences, women and rebels were generally expelled from the kingdom, and not executed. As we have already seen, the punishments became less stringent in the later period and this is evident from both Yuan Chwang and Haribhadra.

The <u>Brhatkathakosa</u> of Harishena shows that even <u>Pancakulas</u> could act as judges. The <u>Tilakamanjari</u> of Dhanapala refers to a type of judicial officers called <u>Dharmasthevas</u>, whose main duty was to see that no injustice was done.

Somadeva in his famous <u>Nitivakvamrta</u> 330 gives a rare picture of the judicial system of the 10th century. However, most of his recommendations follow those found in Kautilya. He

repeatedly says that a king should be just, and judge every case without any prejudice or pre-conceived notions. He uses such terms as sabhya and sabhapati 332 to denote a member of the jury and magistrate. It further appears from this text that legal matters became immensely complicated by the 10th century, and even common people often resorted to dishonest practice by producing false legal documents (kutalekha). He further says that every attempt should be made to settle a case in the village or town, and in case of complications, the matter is referred to the king and there is no higher legal authority than the king. recommends death penalty for those who ignore the orders of the king. 336 When on the witness box, a Brahmana must first touch hiranya and vainopavita, a Kshatriya should touch sastra. ratna, bhumi, vahana etc., a Vaisya should take oath by touching ear, baby, kakini (small coin) and hiranya; and a Sudra should take oath after touching corn or milk or valmika. belonging to various other professions should touch an object of their trade.

It appears therefore from the Jain works of our period, that kings in the early medieval India, like the sovereigns of the Gupta or the pre-Gupta periods, were guilded by law books and tried to be just and unbiased in judicial matters. However, the punishments surely became less harsh in this period, mainly as a result of the spread of theistic religions and also Jainism and Buddhism.

Section (vii): Military Organization.

Not much is known about the military organization of the Vedic period, although we have both the words sena 339 and senan 340 The latter term means a royal general and in the Aitareva Brahmana, 341 we come across the more regular word senapati. From the Vedic texts, it is apparent, that even a much lesser king used to maintain a regular army. That the soldiers were regular paid, is clear from a crucial passage of the Mahabharata, 342 where the word vetana has been used. We are told in the relevant passage of that epic that unless soldiers are regularly paid, they will not fight properly against the enemy. Kautilya 343 regards army as one of seven elements of state. He thus defines a good army "coming down directly from father or grandfather, ever strong, obedient, happy in keeping their sons and wives well-contented, not averse to making a long sojournatever and everywhere invincible, endowed with the power of endurance, trained in fighting various kinds of battles, skilful in handling various forms of weapons, ready to share in the weal or woe of the king, and consequently not falling foul with him and purely composed of soldiers of Kshatriya caste, is the best army". 344

It is interesting to note that according to Kautilya, senapati or the leader of the army was one of the highest paid officers of the kings. Along with the sacrificial priest, Mantrin, Purchita, crown-prince, the queen-mother and

the chief queen, he was paid a salary of 48,000 panas, a year. This proves that from very early times, the commander of the army held a very high position in the king's administration. His pre-eminent position among the royal efficers is also directly proved by a passage of the Buddhist Milinda panha, where, we are told, that among the hundreds of officers of the king, only six are important, and the name of the commander of the army gets the pride of the place in this list.

From the very early times there were four main divisions of the army, namely chariots (ratha, Prakrit raha), elephants (gaya or gaja), cavalry (haya) and infantry (pavatta or padatika). This is also proved by the testimony of Alexander's historians, who refer to all these four types among the soldiers of Porus. 347 In course of time, however, chariots became somewhat obsolete and was replaced by camels and the navy also started playing an important part in war, as we learn from Kalidasa. The importance of the navy, as noted by Saletore 349 is also recognised in the spurious Gaya copper plate of Samudragupta and the well-known Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta. The Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapala also refers to the naval power of that great Pala king. It therefore appears that in the period, under review, navy became an important wing of the king's army. The earlier Jain canonical works refer to chariot, elephants, cavalry and infantry as the four wings of the army and we have descriptions 353 of war involving

chariots, which prove that they played an important part in the wars of pre-Christian times.

The elephants played an important part in battles not only in very early times, but also during Alexander's invasion and also the time of Harsha and even afterwards. In the Aihole inscription 356 of the Jain poet Ravikirti, we are also told about Harsha's elephant-corps (gajendranika). We learn from the Nisitha Curni 557 that the elephant-trainers were known as damages. The elephants were equipped with armours, cruppers, bells, neck-crnament, head-piece, flags, garlands etc. 358 The Samaraiccakaha also refers to the importance of elephants and the head of the elephant corps was known as mahahastipaka. The Nisitha Curni 361 mentions the fact that the elephants should be trained thoroughly. We learn from the eye-witness account of Yuan Chwang that the war-elephant was covered with coat-of-mail and his tusks were provided with sharp barbs. We are further told that the commander-in-chief (senapati) himself rode on the elephant and had a soldier, on each side, to manage the elephant. However, we learn from Somadeva, the author of the Nitivakyamrts that an untrained elephant is a great menage for the armyasikshita hastinah kevalamarthapranaharah. However, he also recognises the fact that the elephant is the most important wing of the army baleshu hastinah pradhanamangam 364

The cavalry also was recognised as a very important wing of the army and there is reason to believe that Porus lost

to Alexander because he was weak in cavalry. 365 In the later period, Indian kings recognised the importance of cavalry, and horses were imported from all conceivable places. The Adipurana of Jinasena mentions the elephants of Kamboja, Singhu, Aratta (a part of Punjab), Bahlika, Gandhara, etc. Haribhadra in his Avasyaka-tika refers to the training of horses and the Nitivakyamrta of Somadeya recognises the great importance of cavalry. Bhoja in his Yuktikalpataru feers to the horses from Tajakistan and Tushara countries as the best, and Sindhu horses as inferior.

The foot-soldiers were equipped with all sorts of weapons. Yuan Chwang 370 has paid a glowing tribute to the trained foot-soldiers of India, who according to him were "choice men of valour". We further learn from him that the Indian soldiers bore a large shield and carried a long spear and they generally used sword, bow and arrow and were perfect experts in all the implements of war.

A great number of weapons have been mentioned in the Samaraiccakaha 371 like knife, khadga, bow, arrow, sula, trisula, parasu, sakti, asi, cakra, gada etc. Some thirty-six types of weapons have been mentioned by Somadeva in his Yasastilakacampu. However most of the weapons, mentioned in the Jain works of our period, were known from much earlier times.

Several types of military officers like <u>baladhikrta</u>, mahabaladhikrta, mahadandanayaka, mahasanapati etc., are mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. Harsha's, minister of peace and war was known as mahasandhivigrahadhikrta. Some other officers like Asvapati, Fhatasvapati, Campupa etc were also known.

The Yasastilakacampu gives a vivid description of the army of various regions and janapadas like Dakshinatya, Dramila (Tamil country), Uttarapatha, Tirabhukti (north Bihar and some adjoining places of Nepal), Gauda and Gurjara (Gujarat). These descriptions show that even in the 10th century the soldiers of various regions of India were not only well -equipped, but also known for their courage and determination.

The importance of forts from the point of 377 view of defence, has been recognised in the Samaraiccakaha 378 Kautilaya also refers to the importance of forts and it is recognised by him as one of the seven limbs of the state.

Section (viii): System of Espionage.

The system of espionage is as old as the epico-Puranic period. In the Uttarakanda of the Ramayana we have the story of the spy reporting to Rama regarding the gossips of the people of Ayodhya in conneciton with Sita's stay in Lanka. The Mahabharata refers to the spies sent by Duryodhana in search of the Pandavas. The exact expression used in this connexion is bahiscarah, who apparently were distinguished from the internal spies, employed by the king.

The Manusamhita also lays stress on the importance of the spies and the relevant expression there is caracakshus.

Therefore,, to Manu, the spy was the eye of the king(mahipati) and a similar expression is to be found in the Kamandakiva Nitisara Kautilya not only refers to spies, but his Arthasastra devotes several sections on the system of espionage, prevalent in his time. The author of the Arthasastra uses a special term to denote a spy, namely gudhapurusha, and it appears from his work that the persons, employed as gudhapurushas, were active both inside and outside the kingdom. There is little doubt and as evident from the Arthasastra, the system of espionage had reached a developed stage by the time of Kautilya.

We further learn from the Arthasastra that both males and females were employed as spies in the guise of a fraudent disciple (kapatika -chātra), a recluse(udasthita), a householder (grhapatika), a merchant (vaidehaka), as a sectic, practising austerities (tapasa), a classmate or a colleague (satri), a fire -brand (tikshna), a poisoner(rasada) and a mendicant woman (bhikshuki). The Kamandakiva Nitisara, which very closely follows the Arthasastra has a full chapter on the system of espionage. As we have already said, it calls the spy (cara) the eye of the king (narendra). We further learn from this text that the spies could be disguished as children, agriculturalists, forest-dwellers, beggars, teachers (adhyapaka) etc.

much light on the system of espionage. In this connexion, we come across terms like sucaka, anusucaka, pratisucaka and sarvasucaka. This word sucaka actually means an importance and occurs in the early Sanskrit literature. These officers were mainly employed by the chief-minister. The sucakas were asked to report on the internal secrets of the harem and the anusucakas were employed to find out the foreign spies in the kingdom. The pratisucakas, according to J.C. Jain, sat on the city - gate, apparently doing some menial work and the sarvasucakas, who were probably high officers, worked through their assistants.

The Papmacariyam of Vimala, written in the early Christian period, also refers to the activities of the spies, who are called by the term Cariyapurisa (Sanskrit carapurusha). In the place of this work, we are told, that king Janaka ordered his cariyapurisas to find out his lost son. The non - Aryan king Ravana also had his cariyapurisas, who communicated to him, the news of Lakshmana's recovery from his serious injury. Else where, in this work, we get simply the word cariya (Sanskrit cara). These spies had transmitted to Satrughna the loop-holes of his enemy Madhu, the non - Aryan rules of Mathura. Thus we see that the system of espionage was quite developed in the early christian period. Even the classical writers refers to the 'scouts' employed by Forus to keep watch on the movements of Greek army, led by

Alexander. These scounts or 'sentinels' were evidently spies, in the service of king Porus.

The seventh-century text, the Nisitha Curni mentions both sucakas and ladagas (Sanskrit cara). In one place, this text identifies the caras with sucakas; sometimes even Jain monks were suspected to be spies. We have already seen that Kautilya has mentioned tapasas or bhikshus, who were entrusted with the job of espionage. The eighth-century work, the Samaraiccakeha01 mentiones the spies as carakas, who gave secret reports to the king about the law and order situation of the state. However, the most beautiful account regarding a spy has been given by Somadeva in his celebrated Yasastilakacamou, where we come across a spy called Sankhanaka, who is represented not only as an exceptionally intelligent man with a keen sense of humour, but also as a great judge of human character. We further learn from Somadeva that this spy, although a poor man, was quite honest and served the king well. Even the ministers could not escape from his & close observation. He used to give detailed reports about various officers to the king. He quotes a verse to the effect that when a king does not employ spies, nor exercise his own judgement, his kingdom is at the mercy of his ministers, just as the milk pelonging to a blind man becomes the prey of cats \cdot Else where we are told that, let those kings, who have the curiosity to visualise what is in the mind of everyone, have

spies only for eyes. Those who are not aware of the situation of themselves and others, through the movements of spies. are deprived of both wealth and life by the action of their officials and foes. It is further clear from Somadeva's work that there were several officials in the Criminal Intelligence department of king Yasodhara, While Sankhanaka is called 405 gudhapurusha, another higher officer is called Varishthaka, which according to Handiqui is another name of spy. Yet another term, namely janghacarikanavaka occuring in this work, has been explained as carapurusha by the commentator Srutasagara7. There is little doubt that spies played an important part in the administration of a kingdom even in Somadeva's time, who in his Nitivakyamrta has mentioned no less than thirty -four types of spies. However, it is better to regard these thirty-four types, as thirty-four types of disguises, undertaken by spies, most of which have been mentioned by Kautilya. These thirty - four types are chatra, karatika, udasthita, grhapati, vaidehika, tapasa, kirata, Yamapattika, ahitundika, saundika, sanbhika, pataccara, vita, vidushaka, pithamarda, nartaka, gayana, vadaka, vagtivana, ganaka, sakunika, ibhishak, aindrajalika, naimettika, suda, aralika. semvahaka. tikshna, krura, rasada, jada, muka, badhira and andha. It is apparent from this list that the spies, employed by the kings, wendered all over the kingdom under the garb of the above mentioned professional groups. Therefore, it has to be admitted that espionage continued to be an integral part of the royal administration almost up to the end of the Hindu period.

Section (ix): Other Important Officials.

The Jain texts and epipgraphs of our period mention many other officials, who were directly or indirectly connected either with the central or district administration.

Let us remember that most of the kings, of our period(600-1000 A.D.), ruled over much smaller kingdoms, compared to those ruled by the Mauryas, Kushanas or the Guptas and therefore, the stress is here more on provincial or district administration. We have already mentioned quite a large number of officials connected with espionage, provincial and village administration and pudicial system. But quite a few have not been mentioned and we propose to discuss some of these officers here in this section.

In ancient and medieval times, the kings had to maintain their harems very carefully as it was a source of danger, not only for him, but also for his other loyal officers. In the Jain commentaries particularly the following harem officials are mentioned namely kancukin, varisadhara, mahattara, dandadhara, dandarakkhiva and dovariva. The first mentioned official is equivalent to English Chamberlain and had free access to both the kings and queens of the harem. He is generally represented in the Sanskrit literature, as an old and clever Brahmana and in practically every play, we find references to the kancukin. The commentator of the Rayapaseniva states that he gave reports of the happenings in the harem to the king. In the Paumasariyam also he is mentioned twice. The varisadhara

was another official of the harem. We are told that his testicles were removed by surgical operations since child-The mahattara was an executive officer and according to J. C. Jain told stories to the ladies of the harem, after their menstruation bath, and pacified their anger, and reported the cause of the anger to the king. The Kamasutra mentions the lady counterparts of both kancukin and mahattara. namely kancukiva and mahattarika. Obviously both those lady - officers acted as special officers of the harem. The dandadhara, as the name indicates, carried a danda(staff) in his hand, and kept a watch over the harem. The dandarakkhiva, with the permission, of the king, took a man or woman into the harem . The Dovariva acted as a doorkeeper and accordingly to a Jataka story, prevented the Candalas and other low-caste people from peeping into the palace, through the windows. Another official of the harem is mentioned in Dhanapala's Tilakamanjari, namely savvapala. He was in all probability , an officer - in-charge of king's bed - chamber. Sircar accepts this explanation of the term savvapala, but A.K. Mojumder is of the opinion that he was probably an officer under mahamandalesvara. The Tilakamanjari also mentions some personal officers of the king like Saudhapala, pratihara or mahapratihara, ratnakosadhyaksha, vetradhari, tambula - vahaka etc. The saudhapala was in charge of the palace and its surroundings and the pratiharas took the interview-seekers to the king

and the ratnakosadhyaksha had to examine the jewels and ornaments of the palace. A special officer called rajavallabha has been in the <u>Upamitibhavaprapancakatha</u> of Siddharshi, written in the beginning of the 10th century. According to the <u>Milinda penha</u> the chatradharaka (umbrella-bearer) and the <u>angarakshaka</u> (body-guard) were the two of the six most important royal officials of the king.

Several important officials are mentioned in the epiographs and unpublished Jain manuscripts of the medieval period. The terms like mahakshapatalika and mahasandhivigrahika occur very frequently is the Jain and non-Jain epigraphs. The first term has generally been explained as the head of the akshapatalika department (Accounts Office) . Kautilya uses the term <u>akshapatalamadhyaksha</u>. The same authority 428 Sometimes the mahakshapatalikas gas also explained his functions. were the writers of the king's grants. Sometimes this officer belonged to the kayastha caste. The mahasandhivigrahikas. as the name indicates, was the minister of war a peace, but often they had to act as dutakes in the kings' grants. They are also mentioned frequently in the Gupta epigraphs. The kalvan plates of Yasovarman of the time of the paramara Bhoja I, which is a Jain record, shows sandhivigrahika Jogesvara as the writer of the grant. The mahamauhurtika was the royal astrologer and he is also mentioned mauhurtika by Kautilya

The two terms mahamandalesvara and

dandanavaka also frequently occur in Jain and non-Jain epigraphs. The evidence of the Allahabad prasasti of Samudragupta shows that the composer of this prasasti, namely Harishena held in the three important portfolios namely sandhivigrahika, kumaramatya and mahadanda navaka simaltaneously. As Fleet observer, the terms dandanatha, dandadhinatha, dandadhipa, dandesa, dandesvara etc are all synonyns of dandanavaka. They are employed in epigraphs as military titles. A.K. Majumdar with the help of epigraphs of the later period, shows that mahamandalesvara was a superior title in comparison to dandanavaka. The Jain works and unpublished manuscripts often mention both mahamandelesvara and ranaka as equivalent titles and Lavanaprasada was both a ranaka and mahamandalesvara (governor). However, the case of Vimala dandanayaka shows that a dandanayaka couldalso be a governor like <u>mahamandalesvara</u>. Sometimes we also come across the title sarvesvara. The Jain work sukrta sankirtana of Arisimha says Caulukya Bhimo II made Lavanaprasada the sarvesvara of his kingdom.

Various other officers are known from thousands of epigraphs and colophons of manuscripts, both Jain and non-Jain. However, in the limited space, at our disposal, it is not possible to discuss all of them. Further in the works of G.C. Chaudhury, A.K. Mojumdar, P. Bhatia, D. Sharma, J.C. Jain and others, we have plenty of information on them.

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- 287. See E. I. 1, pp. 173 ff.
- 288. See 121. 27; and p. 294.
- 289. See in this connexion, Saletore, <u>Life in the Gupta Age</u>, pp. 298 f.
- 290. See Sel. Ins. I, p. 281.
- 291. See also Saletore, op.cit. p. 303.
- 292. For a more detailed descussion on this term and fore more references, see Majumdar, A.K, op.cit., pp. 236 ff.
- 293. See <u>Desinamala.</u> V, verse No. 3.
- 294. Tax Gollector, (sel Majumdar, A.K., op.cit., p. 235.
- 295. See com.on Dyvasrava, III, verse 3.
- 295a. Chapter VIII.
- 296. Trans., Book III, Ch. I, (Shamasastry, pp. 169 ff.).
- 297. Pandit Pustakalaya edition, p. 269.
- 298. See Beal, <u>Buddhist Records of the Western World</u>,
 Delhi, Reprint, 1969, p. XXXVII.
- 299. See T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, Reprint, Delhi, 1973, pp. 171-72.
- 300. Loc. cIt.
- 301. IV. 4. 34.
- 302. See <u>Life</u> etc., p. 64.
- 303. <u>Ibid.</u> p. 65.
- 304. Pp. 391 f.
- 305. See Brh. Bha. IV. 4923-25.
- 306. See 2nd Adhyayana of the first Srutaskandha edited in the Agamodaya series, Bombay, 1916 with the <u>Vrtti</u> of Abhayadeva.
- 307. Kota edition, 1935, p. 149.

- 308. I. 2.
- 309. Pp. 211 ff.
- 310. P. 209.
- 311. P. 185.
- 312. See VIII. 372; XI. 104.
- 313. See P. 200.
- 314. See Act IX.
- 315. See Val. II, p. 183.
- 316. 'Ibid. IV, p. 305.
- 317. <u>Ibid.</u> II, pp. 18, 23.
- 318. See Act IX.
- 319. Act IX, p. 461 (Chowkhamba).
- 320. See N. S. edition Bombay, 72. 205 ff; and trans., by Tawney and Panzer, The Ocean of Story, VI, pp. 83 f.
- 321. Act IX, p. 453.
- 322. III, p. 274.
- 323. P. 31; quoted by M. Sen in her work on the Nisitha Curni, p. 57.
- 324. Act IX, pp. 455 ff.
- 325. See Sircar, Select Inscriptions etc., Vol, I, pp. 293, 348 etc.
- 326. See IV, p. 259.
- 327. See VI, p. 478.
- 328. See No. 121, p. 294, verses 26-27;
- 329. See p. 12.
- 330. See Chapter 28 (edited S. L. Shastri, Varanasi, 1976).
- 331. 28,3 ff.
- 332, 28, 5-6.

entry with

- 333. 28. 10.
- 334. 28. 22.
- 335. 28. 23.
- 336, 28, 24,
- 337. 28. 31 ff.
- 338. See Vedic Index, II, pp. 416 ff.
- 339. <u>Ihid</u>. II, p. 472.
- 340. Loc. cit.
- 341. VIII. 23. 10.
- 342. See Critical edition, III. 16. 21-22.
- 343. See Shama-sastry, trans., p. 289.
- 344. <u>Ibid.</u> p. 290.
- 345. <u>Ibid.</u> p. 278.
- 346. IV. 1. 5.
- 347. See Majumdar, R. C., <u>The Classical Accounts of India</u>, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 35 ff.
- 348. See Raghuvamsa. IV. 36.
- 349. See Life in the Gupta Age, Bombay, 1943, p. 262.
- 350. See Sircar, Sel. Ins., I, 2nd ed., pp. 272 ff; line 1.
- 351. See Sircar, Sel. Ins., Vol. II, Delhi, 1983, pp. 50 ff; line 2.
- 352. Ibid. II, pp. 63 ff; line 25.
- 353. See <u>Bhagavati</u>, 7th Sataka; and Chatterjee, A. K., A. Comprehensive History of Jainism. Calcutta, 1978, p. 237.
- 354. See Majumdar, The Classical Accounts etc., pp. 37 ff.
- 355. See Harshacarita (Chowkhamba), pp. 110 ff.
- 356. See E. I. VI, page 6, verse No. 23.
- 357. See II, p. 469.

- 358. See J. C. Jain, <u>Life</u> etc., Bombay, 1947, p.76.
- 359. See VII, pp. 698 f; p. 705; IX, pp. 898f.
- 360. See VII, p. 703.
- 361. I, p.3.
- 362. See Watters, On Yuna Chwangs Travels in India, I, p.171
- 363. 22.5.
- 364. 22.52.
- 365. See Majumdar, op.cit. pp. 34 ff.
- 366. See 30. 107 (ed.P.L.Jain, Second part, 2nd ed, Calcutta, 1975.
- 367. p. 261; see also J.C. Jain, op.cit; p.77.
- 368. See 22.7 ff.
- Dalhi, 1970, p. 224.
- 370. See Watters, op.cit., I, p.171.
- 371. See J. Yadav's Study in Hindi entitledd

 Samaraiccakaha ek Samskrtika adhvavana. Varanasi,

 1977, pp. 80 ff.
- 372. See G.C. Jain, Yasastilaka ka Samskrtika adhyayana,
 Amritsar, 1967, pp. 200ff.
- 373. See Saletore, op. cit, pp. 263 f.
- 374. <u>Ibid.</u> p. 264.
- 375. Loc. cit.
- 376. See in this connexion, Handiqui, Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, 2nd ed., Sholapur, 1968, pp. 59ff.

- 377. See VIII, p. 772; see also J. Yadav, op.cit, pp.78ff.
- 378. See II, 2.
- 379. VI. 1
- 380. VII, chapter 43 (Gita press)
- 381. See Critical edition, IV, 24.5.
- 382. IX, 256.
- 383. XII. 27 (Venakateswara Press).
- 384. See Shawasastry, translation, pp. 17 ff.
- 385. See the text (Pandit Pustakalaya edition) pp.29, 699.
- 386. See trans. p. 17
- 387. See chapter 12.
- 388. 12. 36.
- 389. See J. C. Jain, <u>Life</u> etc. p. 59.
- 390. See M. M. Williams, S.E.D., p.1241.
- 391. See J. C. Jain, op.cit, p. 59.
- 392. Loc. cit.
- 393. 26.95 (Prakrit Text Society edition, part I).
- 394. See <u>Ibid</u>, 65.1 (part II).
- 395. See 86.32.
- 396. See R.C. Majumdar (edited), The 6lassical Accounts of India, p. 36.
- 397. <u>Ibid</u>, p. 34.
- 398. See III, p. 105.
- 399. <u>Ibid</u>, III, p. 113.
- 400. Loc. cit
- 401. See IV, pp. 271- 72.

- 402. See Book III, pp. 403 ff (N.S.Ed.), see also Handiqui, K.K., <u>Yasastilaka and</u> India Culture, 2nd edition, Sholapur, 1968, pp. 29ff.
- 403. See Handiqui, op.cit., p.30.
- 404. Ibid., p. 109; see also III, Verses 116-17.
- 405. Book III, p.400.
- 406. See op.cit, p.110 ,
- 407. Loc. cit.
- 408. See KO. 8 (ed. S.L. Shastri, Varanasi, 2nd ed., 1976)
- 409. See I, ch. 11.
- 410. See in this connection, J.C. Jain, Life etc. pp.55f.
- 411. See M.M. Williams, SE.D., p. 243.
- 412. Rava Su.T 2 ka, 210.
- 413. 29.7; 93.8.
- 414. See Brh Bha, 4.5167; and also M.Sen, A Cultural Study
 of the Nisitha Curni, p.38
- 415. See op.cit, p.56.
- 416. See Chakladar, Studies in the Kamasutra, p. 109.
- 417. See J. C. Jain, op.cit, p.56.
- 418. Loc.cit.
- 419. See Tataka No. 497.
- 420. See G. C. Chowdhary, <u>Political History of Northern</u>

 <u>India from Jain Sources</u>, Amritsar, 1963, p. 346.
- 421. See <u>Indian Epiographical Glossary</u>, Delhi, 1966, pp. 307-08.
- 422. See Caulukvacof Gujarat, Bombay, 1956, p. 230.
- 423. See pp.14,15, 63,73, etc; and Chowdhary, op.cit,p.346.

- 424. See p. 344.
- 425. See IV.1.5.
- 426. See Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, pp. 14, 178.
- 427. II.7.
- 428. See Frans, pp. 61 ff.
- 429. See I.A, VI, pp.194 ff; and H.C. Ray, D.H.N.I., II, p.1007.
- 430. See Ray, op.cit, pp. 1007, 1011.
- 431. See Ray, H. C. Tbid, II,p. 1011.
- 432. See Sircar, Sel. Ins. etc., I, pp. 377, 393, etc.
- 433. See E. I., 19, pp. 69 ff.
- 434. See Majumdar, A K., op.cit, p. 224.
- 435. See I. 19 (Arthasastra).
- 436. See Sircar, Sel. Ins., I, p. 268.
- 437. See C. I. I., II, p. 16 fn. 5 (reprint),
- 438. See op.cit, p. 225.
- 439. See G. C. Chowdhary, op.cit, pp.299 ff.
- 440. See Arbuda-lekha-Sandoba, II, p.3.
- 441. Canto III, quoted by Chowdhary in his P.H.N.I., p.299 fn. 2.

CHAPTER- II SOCIAL LIFE

Section (i) : The Caste System.

The caste system which was prevalent in the Gupta age, did not undergo any material change in the post - Gupta period. It should be remembered that most of the major Puranic and Smrti texts were compiled in the Gupta period under the direct supervision of caste-conscious Brahmanas and there is undoubted bias towards the higher castes in these works. What we learn from the Jain texts of our period regarding different castes is confirmed by both the non - Jain works and contemporary epigraphs. Foreign writers also help a great deal in this respect. Let us first see how the Brahmanas are depicted, in the Jain literary texts of the early medieval period.

Before analyzing the evidence of Jain works as regards the position of the Brahmanas, we have to take note of what Yuan Chwang, writing in the second quarter of the 7th century, says about therm in his famous Si-yu-ki.

We quote from the original "There are four orders of hereditary class distribution. The first is that of the Brahman or 'pure living'; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly sobserving ceremonial purity. Elsewhere he says,

"Brhamins clean - headed and unostentatious, pure and simple 2 in life and very frugal". These two statements of Yuan Chwang

who was both a Buddhist and a foreigner, are extremely significant as they are totally unbiased conclusions of outsider. The statement of Yuan Chwang regarding the Brahmanas is strikingly confirmed by that of another Chinese pilgrim I- tsing, who wrote a few decades after Yan Chwang. I- tsing, also, places the Brahmanas above the other castes.

Both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing belonged to th 7th century and to this period we can assign the Svetambara commentator Jinadasagani Mahattara (Saka 598) and also Ravisena the great Digambara author of the Padmapurana in Sanskrit. It should be remembered that Jinadasa was almost an exact contemporary of the Chinese traveller I-tsing and thus, his testimony is equally valuable. According to the Nisitha Curni , the Brahmanas are like god and they have been specially created by Prajapati himself. It further adds that the members of this caste are fit to receive all sorts of donations. Elsewhere, Jinadasa has carefully distinguished the Brahmanas from other castes. According to this work, king Bharata used to feed Brahmans every day. From the Avasyaka Curni we also learn that people honoured the Brahmanas by godana etc. The Acaranga Curni mentions that the Brahmanas were well versed in both Prakrit and Sanskrit epics.

The <u>Nisitha Shashva</u> (16.8th century) testifies to the fact that the Brahmanas spent their days in educational pursuits. Both the original cannon and the

7th-century commentary refer to the learned Brahmanas wandering in different places along with their students and disciples. The Avasyaka Chūrni pointedly associates the learned Brahmanas with various sacrifices including Agnihotra. The same work mentions a Brahmin called Somalijja and describes him as taking special interest in sacrifices. The Brhatkalpabhashva¹¹ even refers to human sacrifice undertaken by the Brahmanas.

Ravisena, whose Padma Purana was composed 12 in the second half of the 7th century, has given some interesting information on the Brahmanas. A satirical representation of a Brahmana called Kapila is given in 35. 11-12 but Ravisena is evidently acquinted with the Smrti passage according to which Brahmanas cannot be killed, for he remarks that Brahmanas, Sramanas, cows, women, animals, children and 13 aged people should not be killed

During Ravisenas time, Brahmanas were mostly poverty-stricken; and this is suggested by a passage of his work.

Another 7th-century poem viz. the Varangacarita provides useful details regarding the Brahmanas of that period. It whould be noted at the very outset that Jatila, the Digambara author of Varangacarita did not believe in the efficacy of the caste system. This is apparent from

his vigorous denunciation of the caste system in his poem.
He also attacks the Vedas which according to him encourage bloody rituals.
He taunts the priests pointing out how they are often turned away from the gates of the king and their wrath has absolutely no effect on the potentates.
However, the author is prepared to honour a Brahmana who is though educated.
The entire caste system, according to Jatila, has really no basis and the only thing that matters is Karman.
He also shows no deference for the gods of the Brahmonical pantheon.

Several Jain texts of the 8th century. provide interesting details on the position of the Brahmanas of that time. Among the representative works of this period we would like to refer to the two noted works of Haribhadra viz. the Samaraiccakaha and Dhurtakhyana, 20 the Kuvalnyamala of Udyotanasuri and the Harivamsapurana of Jinasena II. In the second bhava of the Samaraiccakaha we find the Brahmana being assigned the most important role in the marriage ceremony. Passages in the eighth and ninth bhavas of this work acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmanas. Brahmana sacivas are also mentioned. 22 They are further described as engaged both in teaching and sacrifices. In the ninth bhava, we are told that Brahmanas were fed in the Sraddha ceremony. 24 Let us not forget, however, that the chief villain of the Samaraiccakaha was Brahmana Agnisarman, the son of the chief and the arch - enemy of prince Samaraditya. The role of Agnisarman is similar to that

of Devadatta in the Pali Jatakas. In Haribhadra's second book Dhurtakhyana, the author indirectly criticises the Brahmonical epics and Puranas as works full of falsehood. A much more comprehensive account regarding the Brahmanas is to be found in the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> $\frac{25}{2}$ composed in saka 700, corresponding to 779 A.D., at Javalipur (Jalor), Udyotanasuri, the author of this work, has represented the Brahmanas of his time as studying the Vedas and reciting Gavetrimantra well as acting as the <u>Purchita</u> to the king. 27 The expression Wahabrahmana, which is used in Kalidasa's Sakuntala in a euphematic sense, is utilized here in a laudatry sense. That Brahmanas were excellent astrologers is admitted by the author. Prior to all important matters the Brahmins were invited and their blessings sought. In times of distress the Brahmanas were sumptiously fed. 32 We also get a reference to Brahmanasalas of Kausambi where mantras were recited. Killing of Brahmanas is severely condemned. The majority of this class, were poor. 34 In times of need they were even forced to undertake menial jobs. 35 Elsewhere, a vivid picture of Brahmanas deserting their homes because of famine, is portrayed. The Jain canonical literature knows of rich Brahmanas, but in later times, it appears many of them had to lead a life of misery. The well-known writer Bana, it appears from the Harshacarita 39 came from a orthodox Brahmana family, as he calls himself a descendant of ancient Somapavin Brahmanas. His conversation with Harsha also reveals the colourful life, left by a young Brahmana of those

echoes the sentiment expressed by Bana in the Harshacarita.

Somesvaras work, refers to a Brahmana family which served the Caulukyas from Mularaja I for 250 years. It should be noted, that like Banas forefathers, the ancestors of Somesvara were good orthodox Brahmanas who performed the ancient Vedic rites for householders. 40 Thus, both the Harshacarita and Somesvara's Surathotsava corroborate the statements of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who refers to the pure and simple life of the Brahmanas of that time.

It appears from several Jain and non-Jains works that in the historical period, quite a number of Brahmanas gradually took to agriculture which in the earlier literature (cf. epics and Smrtis) was generally reserved for Sudras.

The Harivamsa Purana of Jinasena II (783 A.D.) refers to a Brahmana farmer called Pravaraka. That the Brahmanas were compelled to adopt the agricultural profession is also proved by the evidence of the Kathasaritsagara which mentions a Brahmana called Somadatta who became a tiller of the soil.

The Jatakas also refer to Brahmana farmers, a Brahmana farmer of Śravasti of Buddhas time, and another Brahmana farmer of Śravasti.

The Pancatantra 46 also mentions a Brahmana agriculturist called Haridatta. All these examples show, that even in quite early times the Brahmanas did not hesitate to embrace an agrarian life. However, it should not be supposed, that all Brahmana cultivators were poor. The Jataka No. 484

refers to a Brahmana farmer of Magadha who owned a large estate. Therefore, it seems, that not all Brahmanas were forced to become farmers owing to poverty. It should be remembered, however, that our Smrti writers do not approve of Brahmanas pursuing an agricultural profession, which was exclusively reserved for Sudras in the earlier literature.

Although in several Jain texts of the early medieval period the Brahmanas are criticised, their predominance has not been denied. According to the Uttarapurana Gunabhadra, a Brahmana could not be given capital punishment. That sometimes, even the members of the highest caste indulged in licentions acts is suggested by the evidence of this work. 50 The rivalry between the Brahmanas and Jains is clearly evident from a story of the Brhatkathakośa. 51 We are told how the Brahmaratha of the Brahmanas was destroyed by the Jains. spite of the fact that the Jain texts mostly disparage Brahmanas, they at the same time recommend the appointment of persons belonging to this class, for certain important posts like minister, purchita and duta. According to Somadeva's Yasastilaka, a Duta should always be an aged Brahmana, learned, eloquent, forbearing in the face of provocation and amiable; he should be efficient, courageous, pure, wise, bold and ready-witted. This indirectly proves that in Somadevas time (10th century A.D.) Brahmanas possessing such exceptional qualities were not rare. It is also interesting to note that Somadeva directly disapproves of appointing low born persons as ministers. In Book III of the Yasastilaka, we are told how a Vangala king was killed for a

appointing an outcaste as minister. Elsewhere in the same work we are told that the low origin of Pamarodara was responsible for his failure as a minister. Therefore, it is obvious, that the Jain writers like their Brahmanical counterparts generally respected the prevailing caste system of the Indian society.

It should further be noted that although in his Nitivakyamrta Somadeva recommends the appointment of all the three higher castes for councillor, his first preference is for the Brahmana. In another passage of the Nitivakyamrta Somadeva once more lays stress on the appointment of councillors of high family, for according to him a lowly born individual never feels shave after committing misdeeds.

Let us remember that most of the Jain works of our period (600-1000 A.D.) were written either in Western India or the Decean. Therefore, whatever information we get from them pertains mainly to these two areas of the sub-continent. It must be pointed out in this connexion that hundreds of inscriptions which have been descovered from these two regions fully prove that the Brahmanas continued to enjoy all sorts of priviledge during this period. We should take particular note of the 15th canto of Somesvara's work <u>Surathotsava</u> which offers a rare glimpse of the exact position held by the Brahmanas in the Gujarat region during the days of the Caulukya kings. In the first few verses of this canto, Somesvara has described the town of Nagara thus, "There is a city of Brahmanas called Nagara, where the prescribed rituals are strictly adhered to,

and where the Kali was unable to enter, as it was purified by the three sacred fires viz. Garhapatva, Ahanaviya and Dakshina the people recited the Vedas and even a child was not impure; it was fancied that attracted by the beauty and purity of the place, Gods abandoned the heaven and incarnating themselves as Brahmanas, resided there. In that city among the Brahmanas of the Vasishtha gotra there was a family bearing the surname Guleca. In that family a great Brahmana called Solasarman was born, who satisfied his ancestors with the Somajuice in the sacrifices persormed by him, and also by doing the Sraddha ceremony at Prayaga". This Brahmana named Solasarman we are told by the author was the Purohita of Mularaja I, who reigned in the second half of the 10th century. 58 He was like a Vasishtha in the family of the Caulukyas and performed the Vajapeya sacrifice according to proper rituals. His successors also, all of whom were orthodox Brahmanas served the successive generations of Caulukya monarchs. That the city of Nagara or Anandapura of Gujarat was a great centre of Brahmanas is also confirmed by contemporary epigraphic references. The well-known Harsola grant dated 949 A.D. of Paramara Siyaka II⁵⁹ mentions a grant to the Nagara Brahmana Lallopadhyaya of Anandapura. The Guhila princes also claim descent from Nagara Brahmanasof Anandapurag. The Brhatkathakosa 61 of Harisena also refers to a learned Brahmana of Anandanagara.

Although Somadeva recommends the appointment of Kshatriya and Vaisya ministers along with Brahmanas, in actual

practice, the ministers in early period mostly hailed from the Brahmana caste. According to Prabandhacintamani minister of the celebrated Vakpati Munja (last quarter of the 10th century) was Rudraditya who has been described as a 'King among the learned'. The same work testifies to the fact that this Brahmana minister served Munja with absolute fidelity. From the Caruda Pillar also we learn that a respected Brahmana family inscription served successive kings from Dharmapala to Narayanpala. We must also remember that quite a number of prominent Jain writers and philosophers of this period were Brahmin by birth. The most renogned literary figure of this age was Haribhadra, who originally was an erudite Brahmin of Citrakuta (Chitor). Dhanapala, the author of the <u>Tilakamanjuri</u> and Pushpadanta writer of several Apabhramsa texts were originally Brahmins and such examples can easily be multiplied. It may be noted that in the earlier period Jain savants like Sayyambhava (author of the Dasavaikalika) and Unasvati (the first systematic Jain philosopher) were Brahmins by birth. Even in the canonical texts we find Tirthankaras like Parsva and Mahavira coming in close contact with Brahmins. The only Jain inscription from Bengal discloses the name of a Brahmin called Nathasarman who lived in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.

The word <u>Vaisva</u> which in earlier literature meant common people belonging to the Aryan stock, gradually came to denote traders. We should remember that before the

development of industry the Vaisyas and also a section of the Sudras) were forced to undertake occupations not assigned to the Brahmanas Ksatriyas. Needless to say, the two major pursuits were cattle - rearing and agriculture. However, since the society had to depend on these people for subsidence they were included in the Aryan system of varna and along with the Brahmanas and Ksatriyas came to be called a dvija or twice -born. The permission to wear the sacred thread was indeed a great achievement on the part of the Vaisyas as it gave them the right even to study the sacred literature of the Brahmanas.

In the days of Buddha and Mahavira we find the emergence of a new class called setthi in both pali literautre and the Ardha -Magadhi Jain canon. The Pali texts contain several stories about setthi Anathapindika of Sravasti who was fabulously rich and at the same time a politically influential person. In the Jain Anga textx a few wealthy setthis are mentioned. It is interesting to note that in the Pali canon distinction is made between the town setthis and the setthis of the village who are called janapada The <u>Setthi</u> whether of town or village was an influential and opulent Vaisya, who mainly depended on trade for his livelihood. Both the Jain and Buddhist canonical texts suggest that sethhi was not only a term for 'banker' or 'trader' but also a sort of administrative official. In this context, we should also take note of the term <u>Gulasetthi</u>

found in the Pali literature, which actually means a minor setthi or trader. It has been argued that the term tahavati or Grhapati (meaning householder) in Jain canon means a Vaisya. In most cases the householders were rich people and quite a few of them were devotees of Lord Mahavira.

Revati was another respectable and gracious grhapati who helped Lord Mahavira to recover from a serious illness.

Since Brahmana householders are mentioned separately, it is reasonable to infer that most of the grhapatis mentioned in the Jain canon were Vaisyas bu birth.

In the works of our period we find Vaisyas a very significant part. Most of the principal characters of the Jain narrative literature belong to the Vaisya or merchants class. A typical example of such a medieval Jain work containing Vaisya characters is the <u>Brhatkathakosa</u> of Harisena. The majority of the heroes of this highly interesting collection of Kathas or stories are the sons of wealthy town-<u>sresthins</u>. Story number four mentions one Jinadasa of Rajagrha, another (No. 30) refers to one Dhanadatta of Takka country, we get the names of also Samudradatta of Kausambi (No. 45) and Nagadatta of Iatadesa (No. 54) etc. Several sreshthis are also mentioned in Jinasena IIs <u>Hariyamsa Purana</u> composed in 783 A.D. We may refer to Viraka and Carudatta mentioned respectively in the 15th and 21st chapters of the work.

We have adready noted that even in the

pre - Christian period the <u>Sreshthis</u> played an important role in the administration. The drama <u>Mrcchakatika</u> even associates them with the Judiciary. That the <u>Sreshthis</u>, particularly of the town, took a leading part in the royal administration in the Gupta period by the evidence of several Damodarpur inscriptions beginning with the Gupta era 124 which refer to the <u>Magarsreshthin</u> who formed one of the four members of the board of administration. This shows, that roughly from the days of Lords Mahavira and Buddha, the <u>Sreshthins</u>, who represented the most dominant section of the Vaisya society, played a pivotal role in the social set-up of ancient India.

Several references to the <u>Sreshthins</u> in
Haribhadra's immortal prakrit classic <u>Samaraiccakaha</u> prove
that they indeed took a prominant part in the economic life
of the society in the 8th century A.D. They also participated
in religions activities. The <u>Nagarasreshthin</u> referred to
in Damodarpur Inscriptions are also mentioned in this work.

The singularly interesting expression <u>Mahanagarasreshthin</u>
occurs in another 8th century Prakrit work viz. the <u>Kuvalavamala</u>.

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Other expressions like <u>Bhadrasreshthin</u>, <u>Mahadhanasteshthin</u> also
occur in this work. Regarding the business activities of this
particular class, we will have something more to say in the
chapter on Economic Life.

The <u>Sreshthins</u>, however, wer not the only section of the Vaisya community engaged in trade and commerce.

Another group of Vaisyas viz. the Sarthavahas were also engaged in commercial enterprises from even earlier times. While the Sreshthing did business from a single place, the Sarthavahas were roving traders and even visited overseas countries for trading purposes. The earliest reference to the Sarthavahas in Indian literature is found in connexion with the story of Nala-Damayanti in the Third Book of the Mahabharata . 87 According to V. S. Agrayala, Sarthavaha is the same as Sahisthanika of Panini. The term occurs in the earliest Pali canon. In the Jain canonical texts the the word occurs frequently. That, like the Sreshthing, the Sarthavahas also played an important part even in municipal administration is proved Damodarpur Inscriptions of the Gupta period beginning from Gupta Era 124. The <u>Sarthavaha</u> Bandhumitra of Kotivarsha (N. Bengal) of 1st and 2nd Damodarpur Inscriptions (G.E. 124 and 128) was one of the four members of the Board that governed the vishaya of Kotivarshain the middle of the 5th century A.D. during the reign of Kumaragupta I. In two more Damodarpur Inscriptions two Sarthavahas are once again mentioned as members of the all important city-Board. So, like the Sreshthins, this particular community of Vaisyas were considered eminent members of society from early times.

In the post - Gupta period, also as our literary texts suggest, the position of the Sarthavahas did not decline. The <u>Kuvalavamala</u>, that 8th century Svetambara

Jain work, gives us some interesting information about them. In the story of Dhanadeva, of this work we are told about a young entrepreneus, who was an accomplished Sarthavaha. The Kuvalayamala further mentions Sarthavahas of south India and also of Eastern India. The Narchants were fully armed during their journey. Both Udyotana and Haribhadra allude to the armed guards who accompanied sarthas. Another Prakrit Jain work of this period viz. the Canppannamahapurushacariyam of Silanka composed in V.S. 925 corresponding to 867 A.D., gives a description of a rich Sarthavaha . The story of Dhana Sarthavaha depicts the qualities possessed by a man of wealth. passage of this work we find rich merchant (sartha) advising his son as to the proper conduct of a man of wealth. The father counsels his off- spring that as decent traders, he should remember that in spite of his youth he must possess the restraint and maturity of old age, and not flaunt his wealth like a garishly dressed person. They should spend their money modestly and even their charitable acts should not be publicised. The above picture given us a true idea as to the simple and unpretentions life led by a sartha of those times, in spite of his affluence. In another gatha of the same work, it is stated that there is no difference between the house of Svami (rich man), a servant and a commoner. This highlights the ideal of equality opportunity.

Not all Vaisyas however, were <u>Sreshthins</u> or <u>Sarthavahas</u>. The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> refers to one Vaisya of the name of Gangaditya who was born in a poor family. It appears that in course of time, the Vaisyas probably gave up agriculture, as it

was not a very agreeable profession, and the Sudras and other lower classes gradually monopolised it. Even as early as the days of Yuan Chwang the Vaisyas are described only as traders and Sudras as agriculturists.

It, however, appears that the orthodox Brahmanas had little respect for the Vaisyas. Their disdainful attitude is reflected indirectly in the following statements of Al-Biruni. The famous Muslim historian observes in one passage, that in his time, there was not much difference between the Vaisyas 105 that "the Vaisyas are and Sudras. Elsewhere he remarks not allowed it. Veda much less to pronounce and recite it. If such a thing can be proved against one of them, the Brahmanas drag him before the magistrate, and he is punished by having his tongue cut off". Again in another place Al-Biruni observes "it is the duty of the Vaisya to practice agriculture and to cultivate the land, to tend the cattle and to render needs of the Brahmanas. He is only allowed to gird himself with a single Yainopavita which is made of two cords". It appears that Al-Biruni was only making a theoretical statement based on Puranic and Smrti works which are generally biased against the Vaisyas and Sudras. We have already observed on the basis of a comment by Yuan Chwang, who spent a number of years in India, that the Vaisyas were mainly traders. As regards agriculture we all know that even Brahmanas sometimes adopted this profession and Yuan Chwang himself, met a Brahmana agriculturist in India.

We should further remember that the great Harsha,

the patron of Yuan Chwang himself was a Vaisya. 108

Note, Bana himself in his Harshacarita praises the august family of Pushyabhutis to which Harsha balonged. 109

Moreover, we know that Harsha's sister Rajyasri was given in marriage to Grahavarman of Kanyokubja who was of purest Kshatriya blood. 110

Elsewhere, Yuan Chwang says that a daughter of Harsha married the Kshatriya king of Valabhi. Besides Harsha, there was another king of the early 7th century who was a Vaisya. 112

He was the king of Bairat (Po-li-ye-ta-do).

Almost all our earlier works, written before 600 A.D., have represented the Sudras as the most backward section of the society. 113 In the principal Smrti text viz. the Manuscock the Sudras have been asked only to serve the twice-born and especially the Brahmanas. This sentiment is echoed in several later texts. But in Kautilya 115 along with serving of the twice-born (dvijati), agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade (varta), the profession of artisans and court-bards have been assigned to the Sudras. This shows that in the Maurya period, the Sudras were allowed to pursue a number of professions including agriculture, animal—husbandry and trade, which is earlier times were reserved for Vaisyas only.

Iet us not forget that the first man to unify a major portion of India under one royal sceptre was the Sudra Mahapadma Nanda and from that time onwards in many parts of the country they continued to wield considerable

Even the orthodox Smrti writers including Visnu 116 allow a Sudra wife for a Brahmana. The father of Harshavardhana had married a second woman of Sudra origin and had by her two parasava sons of the name of Candrasena and Matraena. had no hesitation in calling them brothers (bhratatau). is interesting to note that according to Yuan Chwang, a number of important kings of different janapadas of India, in the second quarter of the 7th century, were of Sudra origin. They were Mo-ti-pu-lo, (Matipur) near Bihar in Western U.P., Sindh 119/"a Sudra and a believer in Buddhism". the oberlord of A-tien-po-chih-lo, (probably Kutch) Pi-toshh-lo A-fan-tu. Therefore, it appears, that (the Sudra king was practically the overlord of a major part of Western India. This indirectly proves that by the 7th century A.D., the Sudras threw off the yoke of sertitude to the twice-born and became both economically and politically independent. It is also apparent from Medhatithis commentary on Manu (C. 9th century) that in his time a Sudra was not only permitted to own land but also was not required to serve the other varnas.

The Jain works of our period supply useful data on the position of the Sudras during that time. We have already seen that Kautilya allows a Sudra to adopt even a trader's profession. In the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> we come across a Sudra caravan-leader (<u>sarthavaha</u>) called

Dhanadeva who was resident of Takshasila. He was treated like other <u>Sarthavahas</u>.

It is equally interesting to note that like the Smrti writes, the author of the Adiourana 123 vgz., Jinasena I makes the Sudras servants of the three higher castes. Even Somadeva, the author of the Yasastilaka 124 declares that the Sudras and other low-born peoples are untouchables. Somadeva also says 125 that only the higher castes are eligible for religious initiation. We are further told that the low origin of a minister called Pamarodara, (whose father was an oilman and his mother a low-born woman) was the cause of all his misdeeds. 126 This indirectly shows that Somadeva believed in the caste system.

In the <u>Brhatkathakosa</u> 127 there is a story which declares that it was a crime for a <u>dvija</u> to eat in the house of a Sudra. The Brahmana Sivabhuti was excommunicated on the suspicion that he had partaken food and drink with a Sudra.

Mahesvara's <u>Jnanapancamikatha</u> tells us a story in which a Brahmana cuts off the hand of his wife because she had been giving him milk received from an Abhiri friend.

A passage quoted by Prof. Dasarath Sharma from a commentary on Haribhadra's <u>Dharmabindu</u> is reproduced here, "Fie on the Brahmana woman who lives like one dead on the death of her husbabd. We must praise the Sudra female who is respected by all and blamed by none even

if she has a hundred thousand husbands".

Several professional classes were included among the Sudras. According to the Amarakosa various professional groups were included in the Sudra caste; and they will be discussed in the chapter on Economic Life. However, it should be noted that the Candala, Vyadha, Kirata, Sabara, and Pulindas fell within the periphery of the Sudra caste. Needless to say, all these peoples were outside the pale of Aryan civilization for a very long time. By the Gupta period, when the Amarakosa was compiled, they were included in the growing Indian society.

Let us, take, for instance the Candalas, who are frequently mentioned by Haribhadra in his Asmaraiccakaha. As is well known, according to the Smrti and Dharmasastra texts, the Candala is the offspring of the union between a Sudra and a Brahmana woman. 133 Both Fa-hien 134 and I-tsing have depicted them as outcastes. In the early 7th century text the Kadambari the Matanga and Candala are described as untouchables. The Jain writers of our period also share the same attitude. 137 They are depicted as executioners both in Brahmanical texts and the Jain texts. 139 In the <u>Upamitibhavaprapancakatha</u> 140 it has been asserted that a Candala was considered an untouchable. Al-Biruni also endorses the view of his two Chinese predecessors viz. Fa-hien and I-tsing, by calling the Candalas 'degraded outcastes'. However, some idea about

Yasastilakacampu 142 of Somadeva, where they are described as enjoying both wine and women. It thus appears that the Candalas in spite of being shunned by society, led a happy-go-lucky existence, caring little for the ideosyncrasies of caste Hindus.

As a matter of fact, the Candala was an indispensable member of the society as none could perform the tasks assigned to them. Therefore nothing was done to offend them.

The Sabaras, Pulindas, Barbaras and Kiratas were collectively called Mecchas. The Sabaras in particular are repeatedly mentioned in the literature of all periods.

They are mentioned as early as the Aitareva Brahmana and we also find reference to them in the Great Epic. 144 In the Adipurana of Jinasena I they are described as a jungle people of the Routh moving with their bows and arrows. The Book VI 146 of the Samaraiccakahā gives some valuable details regarding the life of Sabaras in the pallis; Their leader was known as pallipati. They were usually brave but cruel and a constant threat to the sarthas (traders). 147

Their tutelary deity was Candika and this is also confirmed by the Vaishnava Harivamsa. 149 The Samaraiccakahā also refers to Sabara doctors.

Regarding the Kshatriyas, the foreign writers

give us some definite informations. Yuan Chwang, writing in the second quarter of the 7th century, observes, that the "second order is that of the Kshatriyas, the race of kings: this order has held sovereignity for many generations, and its aims are benevolence and mercy". 151 Elsewhere, he praises the Kshatriyas for their unostentations and pure habits. 152 The Chinese pilgrim has nothing but glowing terms of praise for Indian warraors (mostly of Kshatriya stock). "They are experts with all the implements of war such as spear, shield, bow and arrow, sword, sabre, all having been drilled into them for generations! 153 It should be remembered here that even the earlier classical writers have great respect for Indian warriors. 154 Yuan Chwang, nevertheless, admits that sometimes persons belonging to other castes assumed sovereignity. As he himself records, at the time of his visit, several states like Sindh, 155 Mahesvarapura 156 Chih-ch-to, 157 Wu-sho-yen-na, 158 Kamarupa, 159 Kanauj, Matipur, 161 Paryatra 162 (Bairat) etc., had non-Kshatriya kings. This shows that a large part of the country in the second quarter of the 7th century was ruled by monarchs who did not possess Kshatriya blood, and even the mightiest king of that time viz., Harshavardhana was a Vaisya.

In the early medieval period, it seems that the Kshatriyas generally are mentioned by their Kulas (class) and not by gotra. They started using the gotra of their

purchitas in most cases. 163 It is interesting to note that Medhatithi (C. 9th century), 164 in his commentary on Manu 165 observes that the distinction of gotra and pravara applied only to Brahmanas; Mitakshara also says that the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas should adopt the gotra and Bravara of their purchitas in as much as they had no gotra of their own. 166

The relevant Jain texts of our period also enable us to form an idea of the position of the Kshatriyas in the early medieval times. The Kuvalayamala informs us that the Thakuras were Kshatriyas, andcalso used to receive gifts of villages from the kings in recognition of their service. Their descendants also used to enjoy the same privileges. 168 The Thakuras also could be Brahmanas as we learn from a few Gahadavala inscriptions. 169 The Kayastha Thakuras were also quite well-known. 170 It is of interest to we that according to Somadeva's Nitivakvamrta a Kshatriya could be appointed as a minister just like a Brahmana or a Vaisya. Epigraphic references show that Kshatriya girls freely married Brahmanas. A number of Guhila princes (who were descendants from Brahmana Gumabatta) married Cahamana, Rashtrakuta and even Huna girls. Another example is the Kshatriya Valabhi king marrying the daughter of Harsha, a Vaisya potentate. 173

Section (ii) : The Family

We have beautiful descriptions of

family life not only in the two epics, but also in the earlier Vedic literature. As a matter of fact, both the Ramavana and the Mahabharata paint good husbands, dutiful sons, loving mothers, affectionate daughters and at the same times loving wives. We have a poetic description of a small family, living at the town of Ekachkra in the Adiparvan of the Mahabharata. 174 This description shows that every member of this family had almost equal status in the household. Even the daughter also was equally loved by her parents and the husband regarded the wife as his greatest friend. particular family, although indigent, belonged to the highest class of society i.e. the Brahmanas. There are some other references to a few poor families in the two epics, where a similar intimate relationship is depicted. In the Buddhist canonical literature, also, there are numerous references to to happy family life. The Jatakas particularly refer to families who dwelt in both urban and rural areas. A close study of the Jatakas show that both husband and wife looked upon each other as equal partners in the family, and had unlimited concern for the welfare of each other. The Jain canons, also, throw some light on the family life of those days. The Kalpasutra 176 particularly shows the close relationship between Siddhartha and Trisala, the parents of Lord Mahavira. Both the husband and the wife, used to address each other as 'beloved of gods' (devanuppiva or devannopiya) which shows that they had equal deference for one another. 177

In the Jain literature of our pwriod we get a very interesting picture of the family life of those days. As pointed out by Prof. J. C. Jain, 178 (who quotes Kautilya) the family consisted of the father, the mother, the son, the daughter, and the close paternal and maternal relatives. Let us now discuss the principal members of the family.

From very early times the Father or Pita was regarded as the most important member of the family. As a matter of fact, each member of the family was dependent on the Father, who was looked upon as the Prabhu of the house. Let us not forget that the early Indo-Aryan society was fully male-dominated, and naturally all the members of the household looked upon the father as their sole guardian. The father, too, was required to take proper care of all the members of his household. The earlier literary texts have always depicted him as the source of the families happiness. The Paumacariyam of Vimala, one of the earliest narrative texts of the Jains, shows, that the father exercised full control over his off-spring and was the ultimate authority in distributing his property to his children. Even he could take action against his disobedient In the Mahabharata we have the story of King Sagara, who did not hesitate to expel his eldest son and successor in order to satisfy his subjects. The 7th-century commentary the Nisitha Curni represents the father as both the master (Prabhu) and the grhapati (head of the family).

We are further told by the author of that text that all the vital decisions were taken by him. But there is little doubt that in every important matter, he usually consulted his spouse. 181 As the evidence of Kalidasa suggests, the father or husband regarded his wife not only as the mistress of the house, but also his chief counsellor (Saciva).

The Kuvalayamala gives us some idea about the care taken by the father for the members of his household. The Samaraiccakaha represents the husband not only as dutiful towards his children but also towards his wife. is, however, true that polygamy was widely practised not only in the royal families, but also by the commoner. Naturally a person with a number of wives had to face delicate problems in dealing with his spouses. Such a man is hardly expected to do justice to all his wives. However, as the evidence of the play Mrcchakatika proves, the hero who was in Lave with a beautiful prostitute held his own wife in great respect. The commentary of the <u>Uttaradhyayana</u> 185 relates the story of a disgusted husband who did not hesitate to turn his wayward wife out of the house and marry another woman. In this connection we should take note of another story told of Jinasena II which depicts in the <u>Harivamsapurana</u> a husband as embracing monastic life, after being deserted by his wife.

Ideal mothers have been depicted in our epics and Puranas. We have the classic examples of Kausalya in the

Ramayana and Kunti and Gandhari in the Mahabharata. Buddhist literature, too, there are numerous stories about dutiful mothers. In the Jain literature, of our period also, we have some good descriptions regarding loving and affectionate mothers. The Adipurana of Jinasena I shows the mother as mahadevi, sumangala and vasasvini. Upamitibhavaprapañcakatha 188 also highly praises the mother and it declares that, under no circumstances, can the mother betray her children. The Samaraiccakeha to devoted mothers, whose primary concern was the welfare of her children. It also refers to the fact that mothers had to look after their daughters-in-law. The Adipurana 190 further elucidates that the happiest person at the time of the son's marriage was the mother herself. The Samaraiccakahā, at the same time, refers to a motivated mother who does not hesitate to kill her son for selfish ends. However, such cases are rare. The Nisitha Curni depicts the mother also as the grhini, and she is described as the person-in-charge of the internal affairs of the family. She was responsible for meeting the requirements of the other family members, and as noted by M. Sen, she had to manage the family budget.

The most important role in the life of a women is that of a wife. It appears from our ancient texts that the majority of marriages took place only after the girl had attained puberty. This is suggested by the statement

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The Nisitha Curni himself. also seems to endorse the view of Manu. The Jain writers of our period generally depict faithful and loving wives, although, sometimes bad wives have been mentioned. We may cite the example of Amrtamati, the consert of Yasodhara, who fell in love with an ugly cripple called Astabanka. We are further told by the author of the <u>Yasastilaka</u> that, ultimately, that bad woman treacherously killed her husband and mother-in-law. The <u>Kuvalavamala</u> also tells us about the love-affair of a married lady called Suarnadevi with a prince named Tosala. However, this lady was not exactly an immoral woman, as we are told, that her husband had gone for trading purposes to Lankapuri for almost twelve years. In majority of the cases, however, the wives are delineated as loving and ever faithful. Rajimati, in the Jain canonical literature is represented as a faithful and chaste woman, who fallowed the footsteps of her husband. In the Avasyakavrtti Haribhadra we have the curious story of a husband who immolated himself on the funeral pyre of his dead wife. This shows that husbands and wives usually shared a deep bond of love which prompted either to the ultimate sacrifice. Kuvalayamala of Udyotana also highlights the profound love that a wife cherished for her husband in aninteresting story where the wife believing that her husband had fallen in a well, followed suit in true Hindu fashion.

Although from early times the birth of a

daughter was not regarded as auspicious, they were not actually neglected in the family. The evidence of both the Vedic and epic texts abundantly prove that girls received proper education. along with their brothers. They also led a free life and we have stories regarding virgins falling in love with young men. The fact that Svavamvara was recognised by society, indirectly proves that mmmarried girls enjoyed full freedom in ancient Indian society. Bhasa's Avimaraka reveals the profound love and affection the king Pradyota had for his daughter. The Jain texts of our period show that daughters received proper education in the family. The Samataiccakaha emphasizes this point. The same text mentions the fact that daughters received training in literature and painting. The Adipurana also refers to the proper education of daughters. Vatsana's Kamasutra also repeatedly refers to various types of arts which a girl should learn. The Ratnavali of Harsha refers to the painting done by a princess. The Samaraiccakaha vehemently denounces uneducated girls who are a source of constant threat to the family. The Kuvalayamala also confirms that daughters were well-educated when it refers to the heroine Kuvalayamala 206 writing an incomplete verse, and challenging any man to complete it, whom she promised to marry. The Kadambari of Bana (written in the first half of the 7th century A.D.) also throws considerable light not only on the freedom of girls, but also on their proper education. It appears

from a close study of the relevant passages of that immortal work that even prince Candrapida considered himself inferior to the heroine Kadambari who apparently was a highly educated woman. The Dasakumaracarita . a Sanskrit work of our period, also, indirectly mentions the complete freedom a girl enjoyed in those days by describing the Kandukakrida of the princess of Suhma country (W. Bengal). We are told in this connection that this Bengal princess was an expert in this game and people thronged to see her play. That young girls enjoyed a great deal of freedom is also attested by a story in the Kuvalayamala. It depicts a young girl leaving the house unattended to go and watch a performace by a group of actors in the village: The Nisitha Curni shows that unmarried daughters helped their mothers in her household works. Such a model daughter has been beautifully depicted in Dandin's Dasakumaracarita who pointedly mentions the fact that this particular girl was later accepted by a prince as his wife because of her versatility in household work.

The birth of a son was a moment of great joy in every ancient Indian family. In the Rksamhita we find the poets praying for numerous sons. In the two epics also we find the kings performing vaibas, for the birth of sons. We may particularly refer to the Asvamedha faina, performed by Dasaratha, for the birth of sons. The widespread customs of nivoga also shows that husbands

could go to any length to obtain a son. Two types of sons,
vez. Aurasa and Ksetraja are recognised in both the epics and
Smrti texts. The society even accepted the so-called
illegitimate sons. We may refer to the installation of Karna,
the illegitimate child of Kunti, as the king of Anga Janapada.
The great Vyasa himself was the natural son of Satyavati.

In the Jain works of our period, also, we get a very good picture of sons most of whom have been represented as dutiful and loving. The Samaraiccakaha in one passage represents a son as bowing to his mother. The birth of a son was celebrated with great pomp and this is evident not only from the Kalpasutra but also from almost all the Jain texts of our period. The Kuvalayamala 214 particularly gives a good description of the celebration, connected with the birth of a son. from early times received proper education and the evidence of the epics prove that the sons of both Brahmanas and Kshatriyas received serious training in their early youth. In the Buddhist canonical literature we have the story of Jivaka's medical training at Takshasila, in spite of the fact that he was an illegitimate son of a prostitute. Udyotana, in his noted work, shows the prince Kuvalayacandra begining his education at the tender age of eight years under a lekhacarya. This description of his training reminds us of a more elaborate description of a prince's education given by Bana, in his exemplary style The Brhatkathakosa of Harishena contains in the Kadambari.

numerous stories which portray the love and affection of the parents for their sons. We may refer to story Nos. 23, 24 and 25. We have also stories telling us about merchants sending their sons to distant countries for acquiring knowledge in trade and commerce. Such stories are generally found almost everywhere in the Jain literature. The two popular Sanskrit texts viz., the Pancatantra and Hitopadesa stresses the proper education of sons. The Pancatantra declares that it is better to have no son at all, than to have an uneducated It is, however, a fact that only sons belonging to the three upper classes received some sort of education. of the Sudras and various other despised classes were practically denied any kind of education. However, there were some execeptions. In the Mahabharata we have the story of Ekalavya, who although of base origin, received good training in the science of archery. Similar was the case with Surya, who was an expert engineer during the time of Avantivarman, king of Kashmir (second half of the 9th century). This man was the adopted son of a Candala woman. According to the Nisitha Curni, in the absence of the father, the eldest son (jettha-putta) became the master of the house. We are, moreover, told that after the demise of the father, the property was distributed equally between all his sons irrespective of whether any of them were undeserving and prone to vices such as drinking and gambling. 219 The evidence of Bana shows Harsha's great love for his mother Yasomati and his father Prabhakaravardhana.

He had also great respect for his elder brother Rajyavardhana. We are further told by Bana that Harsha took great trouble to rescue his sister Rajyasri from the denze Vindhya forest. 220

The pattern of family life was a joint one in which different members of the family like brothers, uncles, grandfather and grandsons lived together under one roof and shared in the joy and sorrow of the house. Sometimes, however, as the evidence of the Jatakas suggest the daughters-in-law often quarelled with their mothers-in-law. But this feature is common in every ancient society, pespite this fact, family ties were much stronger in ancient Indian society, compared to those in other countries of the world. Perhaps, to emphasize this point, Kautilya's Arthasastra categorically states that the members of a family must live in the same abode, partake the food cooked in the same kitchen, and enjoy the common property.

Section (iii) : Position of Women.

The passages scattered in various Vedic texts prove that women enjoyed a high status in society from the earliest historical times. Although, the society was male-dominated, the women were seldom neglected. References to love-marriages and lovers etc., show that child-marriage was seldom approved and marriages took place long after the attainment of puberty. It has been observed that marriage of an Aryan girl with desynvarna people (non-gryans) was not

in vogue. In their early life, girls received education in the house of their parents and we know from Vedic references that highly educated women existed in the Vedic society and competed with men in intellectual debates. In this connection we may cite the examples of Gargi and Maitreyip the two great women philosophers of ancient times. However, in the Satapatha Brahmana and some other Brahmanical texts, we get uncomplimentary references to women. 224 The absence of large scale polygamy in the Vedic period also indirectly proves that women were not basically neglected in the Vedic times.

It has been opined that by the time the latest sections of the Vedas were composed, the position of women somewhat deteriorated. However, the actual references do not warrant such a conclusion. In this connection we may refer to the view of the Apastambha Dharmasutra, which says that, a wife who forsakes her husband has only to perform a penance to expiate herself. Such a liberal attitude is also to be seen in the Vasistha Dharmasutra which declares that ever a wife who has committed adultery becomes pure and is taken back by her husband after she has undergone proper penances. The two epics also paint women quite favourably. We have some of the finest female characters represented in the epics, which indirectly proves that women were treated very honourably in the society of that period. That remarriage of wemen was not unknown is not only proved by the story of of Damayanti's second Svayamvara 227 but also by the clear

statement of the <u>Parasarasmrti</u>, ²²⁸ repeated in the <u>Naradasmrti</u>. ²³⁰ Such remarriages are also known to the Buddhist writers. ²³⁰ However, the statement of the <u>Manusamhita</u> that a man of 30 years should marry a girl of twelve or a man of 24 years a girl of eight probably suggests that child-marriages, were not inknown in the Hindu society of that period. But in actual practice, it appears, that men generally married grown-up girls.

In the Gupta period, the position of women did not undergo any fundamental change. In this context we may refer to a passage in the <u>Susruta sambita</u> 231 which recommends the marriage of a 25 years old boy with a girl of sixteen. There is little doubt that this authoritative opinion of that medical authority could not be ignored by the serious people of those days, and the evidence of Classical Sanskrit literature proves that our heroines were mature women at the time of courthip. That remarriage was not unknown in the early Gupta period is proved by the marriage of Candragupta II with Dhruvadevi, the widow of his elder brother. However, the evidence of Yuan Chwang shows that widow-marriages gradually became unpopular in the 7th century. Al-Biruni, also has referred to the absence of widow-marriage.

In the Jain texts of our period we not only get references to the free life of those days, but also we come across stories which refer to love and romance between young men and women. In the contemporary non-Jain texts, too, we

get a similar picture and in this connection we should especially mention the Kadambari of Banabhatta, written in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. Bana's earlier work also reveals the relationship between vez. the Harshacarita young boys and girls. The young Banabhatta had some personal friends including a few girl-friends. This shows that even in the villages of those days friendship between boys and girls was not discouraged. The Kadambari gives a more complete picture of the love-affairs of those days and the relevant passages of this text depict women in a very favourable light. Bana being a great rationalist, has not spared those people who try to keep women under subjection and his violent denunciation of the practice of widow-burning (sati) that he was one of the most advanced thinkers of 7th century-India. Varahamihira was another great defender of women and he has very strongly condemned the hypocritical attitude of In the Brhatsamhita 237 he has referred men towards women. to remarried women (Punarbhu) and their sons.

In the representative Jain narrative works of our period the free romantic life of those days has been beautifully portrayed. The <u>Harivamsa-purana</u> of Jinasena II is probably the most romantic Jain narrative work of our period. Here the hero Vasudeva (and not his son Vasudeva) is shown dallying with heroines like Angaravati, Vegamati, Bandhumati, Padmavati, Kalingasena, Vasantasena etc. The descriptions of live, preserved in this poem, fully justify

our assumption that love-making was one of the most favourite pastimes of the young people of those days. We have already referred to the story of Vanamala, 238 the married wife of a merchant, who is represented as falling hopelessly in love with Sumukha, king of Kausambi. Such delineations of love-scenes are also to be found elsewhere in the Jain works. In the Adipurana, 239 for example, we have the detailed story of romantic love between Vajrajangha and Srimati. The Jain works, however, mostly refer to marriages between cousin brothers and sisters which were apparently popular in parts of western and southern India.

However, the misogynistic passages are by no means rare in the Jain works of our period. The Paumacarivam pointedly describes women as fickle-minded. We have also stories of their greed and jealousy and at the same time a few immoral women have been depicted by Vimala. We have the example of queen Lalita who fell in live with an innocent Brahmana who was afterwards betrayed by her. Another such immoral married women in the Paumacarivam was Uparambha who did not hesitate to betray her husband for the sake of her own lustful desires. Such stories of faithless women are also to be found elsewhere in the Jain literature. A similar story of love between a queen and a merchant's son has been told in Jayasimha's Dharmapodesamala. Elsewhere in this work we have the story of Sukumarika who is also represented as a women of loose morals. Misogynistic statements are also to be found in the

Yasastilakacampu of Somadeva, who declares "who doth ever make a woman excel is wisdom, desiring his domestic peace?

How can a man, who nourishes a serpent with milk, profusely thrive"? The same sentiment is also expressed by Somadeva in his Nitivakyamrta. 245 As a matter of fact the Yasastilakacampu has the tendency to derogate women and the stories in connection with the treachery of Amrtamati told in Book IV of this work also prove the perfidious nature of women. A few such stories are evidently inspired by the Brhatkatha tradition and the Pancatantra. However, Somadeva, on the other hand, has also praised the intellectual abilities of women.

Harishena's <u>Brhatkathakosa</u> has painted several types of women. We have stories of dedicated women like Urmilla, 248 Buddhimati, 249 Rohini, 250 and Jinadasi. The same author has also depicted women in love like Vasantasena who was in love with a merchant called Carudatta.

good education is evident from both Jain and non-Jain works of our pwriod. Both Mahasveta and Kadambari of Bana's immortal work were highly accomplished and cultured ladies. In the plays, written by king Harsha, also, we come across sophisticated and highly educated ladies. The poet Ravishena in his Padma-Purana has represented Kaikeyi as a lady versed in sixty-four arts. This description proves that girls not only received good training in music, but also other branches of learning. The Samaraiccakaha also lays special stress on the

education of women, including serious training in literature, painting and fine arts. In Harsha's Ratnavali we find a reference to a painting, done by a woman. The princess Kuvalayamala is represented by Udyotanasūri as a skillful painter as well as a good poetess. All these references amply prove that women of both the post-Gupta and the early medieval period received special training in various branches of learning, and the same impression regarding women is obtained from the historical poem of Kalhana and the plays of Bhavabhūti.

Section (iv): Marriage

A lot of material on marriage is to be found in the Jain texts (both canonical and non-canonical), of our period. But except for one particular feature, we cannot say that their evidences have any special value. The Jain marriage system is exactly like that of the Hindus and almost all types of marriages, enumerated in the Hindu Smrti texts, are described in the literary works of the early medieval Jain authors. However, unlike the majority of the Hindu literary texts, most of the Jain works of our period are dated and therefore their evidence can be chronologically analysed. Let us first discuss the most popular type of marriage viz., the love or the Gandharya form.

The Gandharva form of marriage is practically 256 as old as the Vedic period. In the epics there are a good

number of stories based on the Gandharva form of marriage,
the most popular of which is the union of Dushyanta and Sakuntala,
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told in the First Book of the Mahabharata. The Ramayana
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also knows of such marriages; the major Puranas also
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contain stories in which romantic love-marriages have
been generally eulogised. However, the greatest protagonist of
romantic marriage is Vatsyayana, the author of the Kamasutra,
who regards such union as the best form of marriage, a
sentiment echoed also in a few passages of the Mahabharata.

The Buddhist canonical works also contain stories of such
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marriages and in the Jatakas particularly, a few stories in
connection with romantic love-marriages are told.

The Jain canonical texts like their
Buddhist counter parts relate a few interesting stories in
connection with romantic love; but in their non-canonical
texts, such romantic love-stories are more abundant. The

Vasudevahindi, a text composed probably in the Gupta period
is almost a Jain version of the missing Brhatkatha, which
is however, preserved in Sanskrit translations. This
particular Jain work is the source of many later Jain
literary texts and contains highly interesting love sotries.

Its hero is Vasudeva, the father of Krshna, who like
Naravahanadatta of the Brhatkatha literature, married the
princess of every janapada he visited.

In the literature of our period several

stories are told about romantic love. We have the episode of Raktasubhadra told in the Prasnavvakarana-tika. Such stories are also to be found in the Tarangalola and the 268 Prasnavvakaranatika. In the Harivamsa of Jinasena II, a work composed in the last quarter of the 8th century, a highly interesting story is told regarding the love-marriage of a king with the married wife of a merchant. The description of the romantic longing of Sumukha, the king of Kausambi for Vanamala reminds us of the descriptions of Kalidasa. It is significant that Jinasena II, otherwise a strict Jain disciplinarian, allows a lover to merriage parastri

The marriage of parastri (in the lifetime 272 of her husband) is also described in a Buddhist canonical text. It should be noted that such a marriage does not have the sanction of the law as not a single condition for remarriage of a woman preserved by Parasana or Narada is fulfilled. In the unique story told in the Buddhist literature a husband himself is represented as bestowing his wife on another man for marriage with proper rites. Even the Sampradana ceremony was performed by the husband.

Our Smriti texts speak of this particular type of marriage which involves the abduction of the girl forcibly by the lover from her relatives. The Jain works of our period know of such marriages. The abduction of Padmavati by Krshna is told in the Prasnavyakaranatika.

An earlier work viz., the Avasyakacurni composed in the 7th century A.D., describes at length the abduction of Cellana by Srenika. Udayana also is represented as marrying

Vasavadatta in the same text by the Rakshasa form. Krshnags marriage with Rukmini described in various Jain texts was also similar. As a matter of fact, it appears, the Rakshasa form of marriage was considered second most popular form, after the Gandharva type. In both the cases the element of love was present. According to the Mahabharata the Rakshasa form was proper for kings and Kshatriyas and the marriage of Subhadra with Arjuna is the best example of the Rakshasa form of marriage.

From The quite early times Svayamvara or choosing of the husband from a number of suitors was popular in India. Exactly this form of marriage was not known outside the Indian sub - continent. The Mahabharata particularly refers to this form of marriage in several places. We can refer to the Svayamvara of Draupadi told in the First Book and that of Damayanti told in the 3rd Book of the Great Epic. However, in the case of Draupadi, the Pandavas had to prove themselves worthy of the choice of that lovely lady. Damayanti's Syavamyara is regarded as the most ideal form this particular type of marriage. The Raghuvamsa, as is well-known, describes in detail the Svavamvara of Indumati. The historians of Alexander also have shown their acquintance with this form of marriage. It further appears from the history of the Aunar dynasty told in the Adiparvan, that the Svavamvara system of marriage was an age-old practice in India. It indirectly

also proves the high status of woman as this system envisages the selection of the husband by the girl herself.

In the Jain canonical text the Navadhammakahao, we have the detailed description of a svayamvara which is, however, almost based on the description of the Mahabharata. In the Uttaradhavanatika a long description of svayamvara ceremony of Nivrtti, the daughter of a Mathura king is told.

It, however, appears that Svayamvara was popular among the higher castes and not among the poor people. Seems inconceivable that a poor father could afford the expenses of a svayamvara ceremony. In the Brhatkalpabhashva, however, interesting reference is found to the svayamvara of slave-girls (dasaceti).

Even now among some aboriginals some form of svayamvara is known.

The marriage of boys with the daughter of their maternal uncles was extremely popular among the Jains from early medieval period. As a matter of fact, in about all the Jain narrative works of this period there are stories of cousin-marriage. It should, however, be emphasized that our law-givers are generally against cousin-marriages. It was 290 known to Baudhayana and it appears that it was at first popular amongst the Southerners. According to the 7th-century Jain texts, the Avasyakacūrni, cousin-marriage was popular in Lata and Dakshinapatha, but was not legal in Uttarapatha. This appears to be a very important statement. Since most of the Jain works of our period were composed in Western India, it is but natural that they should refer to

such marriages repeatedly. It further appears that cousinmarriage was popular amongst the merchant class than any
other professional caste or class. However, only the maternal
cousin could be married, although sometimes marriage with the
daughter of father's sister was known. There was one obvious
advantage in close-cousin marriage. Probably it did not
involve high financial transactions and the risk of marrying
an unkham person could be avoided.

The Jain Harivansa of Jinasena II, composed in the last quarter of the 8th century, pointedly mentions the custom of cousin-marriage in several places. However, in all cases the bride was the daughter of the maternal uncle. References to cousin-marriages will also be found in several other fain texts of this period including 295 the well known Samaraikecakaha composed in all probability before 750 A.D. The much earlier Paumacariyam also refers to cousin-marriage and an important Rashtmakuta 298 inscription also mentions it.

Remarriage of women, though not encouraged, was not unknown in ancient India. Even the orthodox Smrti 299 300 writers like Narada and Parasara approve of remarriage of women under five circumstances:-

nashte mrte pravrajite klive ca patite patau
pañcasvapatsu narinam patiranve vidhivate

A careful analysis of the passage quoted here shows that in

all possible circumstances, remarriage was permitted. The itself, it is of supreme interest to note, refers to the second svayanvara of Damayanti, since in her case the first condition nashte(lost) was fulfilled. In the Therigatha of the Buddhists, a text composed in the preghristian period, we have the story of the remarriage of Isidasi, the daughter of a merchant of Ujjayini. This lady, we are told, had two divorces and married altogether three times. It should further be remembered that Isidasi was the daughter of a very influential person, of one of the principal towns of India, and it further proves that remarriage was not discouraged in this part of India. We should also refer to the highly interesting passage of the Mahavastu, where we find Nanda and Devadatta proposing to marriage to Siddhartha's wife. In this case the third condition presented in the Smrti texts, namely Pravrajya, was fulfilled.

The evidence of Yuan Chwang suggests

that widow remarriage was not permitted in India in his time;

he also refers to the absence of cousin marriage. This we feel

was the custom of Madhyadesa and not of outlying provinces.

All-Biruni also supports Muan Chwang's statement, we have

a very well-known instance of widow-remarriage in Gupta History.

We are referring to the marriage of Chandragupta II with the

widow king of his brother Ramagupta. It is also interesting

to note that the son born of this union duly succeeded

Chandragupta II (namely Kumaragupta I). As we have already

said, the story of Vanamala, told in the 8th century Jain Harivamsa shows that remarriage of women was possible (chapter 15). Here the second husband does not only legally marry a married lady but also is represented as producing legitimate children by her. 306

The Jain works of our pwriod contain some fine descriptions of the festivities connected with marriage. The most detailed description of a marriage ceremony of the 8th century will be found in the Samaraikccakaha by Haribhadra before 750 A.D. Like the Hindu marriage we find here the astrologers fixing the auspicious time of the marriage ceremony. The bride on the morning of the wedding is placed on a decorated stool (Asandiva) covered with a white silk cloth. A barber comes and cleaned the nails of the girl. After the ceremonial birth she is dressed in a red garment. During the bathing ceremony only women whose husbands are alive, are permitted to take part. Other women also were red garments on this special occassion. After the bath, the priests showerrice on her head. After this, the bride's friends start decorating her. At first, the lower feet are painted with the paint of saffron; the painting is also done on the pair of thick Car-like breasts. Her face is decorated with sandal pigment mixed with black sandal. Her lower lip his also coloured. Then the women beautify her eyes by applying collyrium. Beautiful jewel

anklets are then tied on her feet. Her fingers are decorated with jewel led rings. Her hips are also decorated with a waist-band made of gems and the jewel led strings on the arms are tied on the part near the arm-pits. The breasts are also made attractive by various type of ornaments, and a pearl neclace is put on her beautiful neck, to the central garment knot. The ears too are coloured by saffron and then jewelled ear-rings are put on them. The pure crest-jewel is then placed on her head.

In the same account the female friends of the bride are represented as indulging in amorous banterings.

After words a beautiful pandal (mandapa) is erected for the marriage ceremony. The father of the bride is then represented as distributing costly presents like silken cloth, made of cina and archa-cina, ornaments like bracelets, necklace, ear-rings, wristlets, horses of various countries (Balhika, Vajjara and Kamboja) to the relations and friends assembled in the pavilion hall.

In the actual ceremony, the bride and the groom circumambulate the sacred fire in which oblations of ghee and honey are offered. At every turn of the couple, the bride's father gave to those assembled, unwrought gold pieces, various ornaments, silver vessels and various types of cloth. The bride-groom's father also gave costly presents to the daughter-in-law.

The Adipurana 309 gives the detailed description of the mandapa (pavilion) in which the marriage takespplace. We further learn from it 310 that even prostitutes used to participate in the marriage ceremony. That the prostitutes were considered auspicious is also evident from the Ramavana, 311 the Mrcchakatika, 312 Kamasutra, 313 and other works. We will discuss the status and position of prostitutes elsewhere in this chapter.

A few details regarding the marriage ceremony are to be found in another 8th century Jain narrative work namely the Kuvalayamala. From this work we learn that the mother-in-law herself decorated her son-in-law for the ceremony. A tilaka is put on the forehead of the groom, who is dressed in the finest white silk. The bride too, is represented here as wearing white silken cloth and kest wet red silk as we learn from the Samaraiccakaha. Harshacarita of Bana also refers to the bride wearing white silk. As a matter of fact both red and white were considered auspicious for marriage. We should refer in this connection to the extremely detailed and wonderful description of Rajyasri's marriage ceremony told in Bana's Harshacarita. There is little doubt that most of the details found in Jain works are similar to that found in the celebrated work of Bana, who himself being a householder had a more intimate knowledge of the different customs, connected with marriage then the Jain monks like Jinasena, Pushpadanta or even

Haribhadra. One fact of vital importance that we learn from Bana 316 is that the groom, after the marriage, stayed for ten days in his father-in-laws house.

The Jain works emphasise the role of the Brahmanas during marriage rites and also clearly mention the fact that Agni was the only witness of the marriage. As a matter of fact, there is no real difference between the marriage described in the <u>Harshacarita</u> and the early medieval Jain works. However Bana in his characteristic way has not missed even the minutest details.

It is also interesting to note that caste considerations could not be ignored even by the Buddhists and 317 Jain authors. More than once in the Pali Tripitaka Buddha admits the validity of the caste system. The Jain canonical authors have repeatedly emphasized that Kshatriyas are the highest caste. The great Jinasena I in his celebrated Adiourana has spoken against marriage between different castes. This proves that even in the early madieval period, in marriage, caste considerations could not be ignired. This also fully confirmed by Yuan Chwang, who wrote more than a century before the author of the Adipurana.

Somadeva the celebrated Jain author of the 10th century in his <u>Nitivakvamrta</u> recommends that a boy of sixteen, should marry a girl of twelve. However, Susruta, 321

the earlier Brahmanical authority opines that a grown up man of twenty five should marry a girl of sixteen.

Section (v): Prostitution

It has been claimed that prostitutions was known even in the early Vedic period. 322 The two epics not only refer to prostitutes by such names as vesve or ganika, but also have nothing but praise for them. The evidence of the Ramayana 323 shows that the ganikas were looked upon as auspicious. Kautilya has given a lot of information on prostitution, and it is clear from the relevant section of of Kautilya that some of the leading prostitutes of the state like ganika and pratiganika (rival-prostitute) received respectively a salary of 1000 and 500 panas from the royal treasury. The Buddhist canonical texts contain innumerable references to prostitutes and we are told the they received handsome fees both from the state and their customers. The Mahavagga refers to the influential prostitute (ganika) called Ambapāli (also spelt Ambapālikā) of Vaisali, who was a lay devotee of Buddha. She has also been prominently mentioned in the famous Mahaparinibbana Sutta of the Digha Nikaya and we learn from that work that she donated a garden to Buddha at Vaisali. The great physician Jivaka, according to the Mahavagga was a son of prostitute Salavati of Rajagrha and was afterwards brought up by prince Abhaya, the son of Bimbisara.

The Kamasutra of Vatsyayana throws a flood of light on the prostitutes of those days and several types of prostitutes are mentioned in this work. They were Kumbhadasi, paricarika, kulata, svairini, nati, silpakarika, prakasavinashta, rupajiva, vesva and ganika. However, it appears that afterwards the two main types namely kumbhadasi (common prostitute) and ganika (also called vesva) became more prominent. The great Vasantasena of Bhasa's Carudatta and Sudraka's Mrcchakatika 330 was a ganika type of prostitute. The superior position of a ganika of those days, is indicated by the fact that the Mrcchakatika describes, Vasantasena as the nagara-sri of Ujjayini.

The Jain canonical works also give a good deal of information on prostitution of those days. The <u>Vipakasruta</u> refers to a prominent prostitute called Kamadhvajā (Ardha-Māgadhi <u>Kāmajihayā</u>), who according to that Jain text was endowed with 72 qualities (<u>ganiyāguna</u>). Another prostitute called Sudarsanā is mentioned in that text. In the <u>Māvadhammakahāo</u>, the 6th Anga text of the Jains, we come across a prostitute called Devadattā, who resided at Campā, and who was the mistress of a Bohemian Club of that town called Lalitā. It is interesting to note that in several later Jain works, this particular prostitute of Campā has been prominently mentioned. The <u>Vasudevahindī</u>, an early non-canonical Svetambara narrative work, also throws light on prostitution,

The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> 336 not only mentions prostitutes, but also refers to brothels. Altogether four types of prostitutes namely ganika, vesva, vesitthi and vesastri are known to Jinadasa. The text also pointedly asks the nuns to avoid the company of even old prostitutes. 338

The <u>Varangacarita</u>, while describing the town of Vinita (Ayodhya) refers to its <u>vesyangana</u>, which pwoves that at the time of its composition (probably 7th century), the prostitutes were looked upon as auspicious. Elsewhere in the text, they are mentioned in connexion with the description of a Jain temple.

Several 8th century Jain works like the Harivamsa of Jinasena and the Samaraiccakahā of Haribhadra throw some new information on prostitution prevalent in the early medieval period. The Samaraiccakahā contains several references to prostitutes. The Practically everywhere they have been represented as taking part in the marriage-festivals and other social festivals like the Madanotsava. The Adipurāna of Jinasena I associates prostitutes with religious and other activities. It is evident from that work that the prostitutes used to take active part during marriage-festivals. The poet Jinasena I has used words like varanganā, (7.244) varavadhu, (7,243) varamukhya, (17.83) and varavoshit (17.86) for prostitutes. There is little doubt that these women mentioned

by the author of the Adipurana, were not ordinary prostitutes,
but superior types of ganika, well-versed in different kalas.

In the Harivamsa of Jinasena II we are told about the love-affair

of merchant Carudatta of Campa (and not like the Mrcchakatika,
of Ujjayini) and the prostitute W Vasantasena, the daughter
of another prostitute, called Kalingasena. There is little
doubt that the author Jinasena II has cleverly appropriated
the earlier story of the Mrcchakatika. The character of
Kalingasena, who asks his daughter Vasantasena to shun the
company of the penniless Carudatta, reminds us of the
advice of the procuress Vikarala to the prostitute Malati
in the Kuttani-mata of Damodaragupta, which was also
written in the 8th century.

a lot of information on prostitutes. The story of Carudatta 346 and Vasantasena of Campa has also been given in this work. The story also represents the prostitutes as experts in the game of dice. Another prostitute called Virayati (a resident of Pataliputra) has been mentioned in this work, and in this connexion the poet used the word panyastri. The Uttarapurana of Gunabhadra mentions not only a prostitute called Buddhishena, but also has the word ganikagrha.

However it refers to Buddhishena as a Jain lay devotee.

Elsewhere in this work, we have a reference to the prostitute Vasantasena, who is not identical with the prostitute of the same name, mentioned elsewhere in the Jain

literature. In the relevant passage, we are told that Vasantasena was surrounded by many <u>vitas</u> (rogues or knaves).

The commentary of the <u>Uttaradhyavana</u> 352 mentions two courtesans called Kosa and Upakosa. The former was in love with the great Jain savent Sthulabhadra. But afterwards, we are told, that she became a Jain lay devotee. Another well-known courtesan was Devadatta, who is mentioned in the 6th Anga text and also the later commentaries. The <u>Dharmopadesamala</u> of Jayasimha (a contemporary of Pratihara Bhoja) also throws light on prostitution by telling the story of Anangasena, the chief prostitute (<u>pahana-ganiva</u>) of Sravasti.

The above discussion shows that the Jain literature, of our pwriod, gives quite a good deal of the information on prostitutes, who took part in the cultural life of the early medieval times.

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- 63. E. I. II, pp. 160-67, Gauddalekhamala. pp. 70 ff.
- 64. Ree Probandhacintayari p. 36 See Prabardhacintamani p. 3
- 65. See N. Premi, Jaim Sahitya aur Itihasa, pp. 225ff.
- 66. E.I. XX, pp. 61 ff.
- 67. See Pali Text Soc. Dict. by T. W. Rhys Davids, p. 722.
- 68. See Paivasangamahannavo, Haragovinda Sethe p. 930.
- 69. See for reference, to Sheth, p. 930.
- 70. See Fausboll, Jat. IV.37.
- 71. See Bhagavati, IV. p. 199 etc. etc.
- 72. See <u>Cullavagga</u>, translation Rhys Davids and Oldenberg

 S. B. E. 20, p. 78 also pp. 157 ff; see also <u>Mrcchakatika</u>, Aulx.
- 73. See <u>Petavatthu</u>, p. 184 including Minor Anthologies of the <u>Pali canon</u> translated by H. S. Gehman, Vol. IV., Nalandand Khuddaka Nikaya Vol. II, p. 162.
- 74. See J. C. Jain, <u>Jaina Agama Sahitya me Bharatiya Samaja</u>, p. 219.

- 75. The most important was Ananda, mehtioned prominently in <u>Upasakadasa</u>, N. A. Gore, Poona, pp. 66 ff.
- 76. See Bhagavati 15th Sataka p. 2462.
- 77. £g. Gobahula in the Bhagavati, 15th sataka, p. 2374.
- 78. 9th Act.
- 79. <u>Select Insps., pp. 290 ff; 336 ff; 347 ff.</u>
- 80. III, p. 184; V, p. 398; VIII, p. 807.
- 81. IV, pp. 234, 237, 326; VI, pp. 494 ff; pp.550 ff; VII, p. 637.
- 82. IV, p. 278.
- 83. 73. 8.
- 84. 65. 21.
- 85. 107. 16; 224. 18.
- 86. Chs. 64f. Geeta-Press Critical Edition; according to the relevant passage the word Sarthavaha means the leader of Sarthas or merchants; this is confirmed by Amarakosa 3.9.78.
- 87. 4.4.72. See Panini Kalin Bharatavarsha p. 227.
- 88. See Pavasirajia Sutta of Digha, Malanda ed. Vol. II, 295ff.
- 89. See Seth, Paivaner Framahannavo, p. 862.
- 90. Sel. Insps. pp. 290 ff.
- 91. (rf Budhagupta's time) Sel. Insp. 336 ff and the 2nd of G. E. 224 Thid. 346 ff).
- 92. 65-68.
- 93. 135. 8.
- 94. 75. 15, 14.

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95. 135. 5-8.
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- 97. <u>Samaraiccakaha</u> p. 476.
- 98. (For more details see <u>Kuvalayamala ka Sanskritik</u>

 <u>Adhyayana</u>, P. S. Jain, pp. 212 ff; see also Lalanji

 Gopal, <u>The Economic Life of N. India</u>, p. 101.
- 99. \$. 10, 11.
- 100. \$7. 7.
- 101. 0.10.28.
- 102. 56. 31.
- 103. Watters, I, p. 168.
- 104. Sachau, I, p. 101.
- 105. 125.
- 106. II. p. 136.
- 107. See Beal, p. 73, see also the statement of Medhatithi (commentary on Manu).
- 108. See Beal, I p. 343.
- 109. Rp. 168 ff.
- 110. Harsacarita, p. 241.
- 111. II, p. 246.
- 112. Yuan & Chwang, (I, p. 300.
- 113. See Vedic Age, pp. 390ff; and also pp. 454 ff and p. 514.
- 114. I. 91; IX. 334 f.
- 115. Shama Sastry, reprint p. 6.
- 116. 6f. Vishusmriti, 24.1.

- 117. Chowbhambha ed. 1st Ucchvasa, p. 74.
- 118. Watters, I, p. 322, A. G. I. (Cunnibagham) p. 348; the Sudra King here is described as a good Hindu not believing in the tenets of Buddha.
- 119. II, p. 252; p. 256; pp. 258 259.
- 120. See for his date, Kane , History of Dharmasastras (Hind), Part II
- 121. See commentary, III. 156 of Manu and VIII. 145.
- 122. 65.
- 123. XVI. 184 86.
- 124. R. 457.
- 125. Book & VIII. See 43.
- 126. See Handiqui, p. 30.
- 127. Story No. 31, Upadhya, pp. 51f.
- 128. $\frac{1}{8}$ 65 $\left(\underline{S}, \underline{J}, \underline{G}, \underline{M} \right)$
- 129. Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 436.
- 130. <u>Dharmabindu, A. S. B.</u> ed. p. 85, see in this connexion

 Kane, <u>History of Dharmasastra p. 485.</u>
- 131. II. 10. 5ff.
- 132. II,10,419 ff.
- 153. See Gautama, IV, 15-23; also S.B.E., I. pp. 82, 91; II. 103; XV. p. 169; XXV. 343, 444.
- 134. Legge, p. 43.
- 135. p. 139.
- 136. pp. 23 24.
- 137. See Samaraiccakaha, I, p. 54; III, p. 183; IV. pp. 261-62, 266-67, 321, 348; VI. pp. 508-9; VIII. pp. 829-30.

- 138. of. Mrcchakatika, AUX.
- 139. See Yasastilakacampu, Handiqui, p. 421.
- 140. Quoted in Rajasthan through the ages, p. 430 pp. 36, 98, 230, 592, 764 etc.
- 141. I. pp. 101 2.
- 142. See Handiqui, p. 418 quoting from Book VII.
- 143. 33. 6.
- 144. Critical ed. of Mahabharata, XIII, 35. 17; XII. 65.13 etc.
- 145. 16. 168.
- 146. pp. 504 -7, 666-67 & 669.
- 147. II. 120; VI. 511; VII. 656-57, 661-62; VIII. 798.
- 148. VI. p. 529.
- 149. (cf. Geeta Press Critical Edition, Sabarah barbara Heniv., 1.3.7 (Gila Press).
- 150. VI. p. 589.
- 151. Watters, I. p. 168.
- 152. I. p. 151.
- 153. I,p. 171.
- 154. See Majumdar, Classical Account of India, p. 230
- 155. Watters, II, p. 252.
- 156. <u>Ibid</u>; II, p. 251.
- 157. <u>Ibid</u>, p. 251.
- 158. Ibid, II. 250
- 159. <u>Ibid</u>, II, 186.
- 160. <u>Ibid, 1343</u> I, 343.
- 161. <u>Ibid</u>, I. 322.

- 162. <u>Ibid</u>, I, 300.
- 163. See Ojha, Rajputana Ka Itihasa, I. pp. 353 54.
- 164. (for his date see Keith, H. S. L. D. Hiroli) P. & Tho.
- 165. III. 5
- of the gotra of the Kshatriya family of Cahamanas in the Mandhata Inscription of Jayasimha Jayavarman II,

 E. I., XXXII, p. 155 is an interesting exception, see p. Bhatia, The Paramaras, p. 278. 26
- 167. 50. 26.
- 168. 50. 32-33 (See in this for further discussion Buddha

 Prakash, Central Asiatic Journal, Vol. III, (1957)pp. 220-37
- **169.** See <u>Indian Antiquary</u>, Vol. 18, pp. 19-20; <u>E. I.</u> V, pp. 113-15.
- 170. See E. I. IV, pp. 103f; and E.I. VIII, pp. 152 -53 etc.
- 171. 10.5 %
- 172. See A Instription of V.S. 1034 I. A. 39, pp. 191 ff, also Bhandarkar List No. 85.
- 173. Y. C. II. p. 246.
- 174. I, chapters 145ff (cr. ed.).
- 175. See Cowell, Jataka Stories, Nos. 31,41,43,49,81 etc. etc.
- 176. See B.K. Chatterjee's edition (Calcutta), pp.64ff.
- 177. Loc.cit.
- 178. See Jain, J. C., op.cit, p. 146
- 179. For details see Chandra, K. R., op. cit., Pp. 332f.
- 180. <u>Mbh</u>, <u>III</u>. 106. 10ff (cr.ed.).
- 181. For details see Sen M, (Op.cit, pp. 97f.
- 182. See Raghuvamsa VIII. 67.

- 183. See for details, Jain P. S., op.cit., pp. 97fk
- 184. See Book V, pp. 454f; 6, p. 546.
- 185. See Jain, J. C., op. cit., p. 162.
- 186. 15. 38ff.
- 187. 15. 30.
- 188. P. 153.
- 189. See Bhava 4, pp. 236 f; Bhava 5, pp. 365,471 etc., Bhava 6, p. 564.
- 190. 7. 205; 15. 73.
- 191. Bhava 2, p. 127.
- 192. See op. cit, p. 98 and also NC, 2, p. 22; 3, 357.
- 193. See Manusamhita, IX. 90.
- 194. See Sen M., op. cit., p. 103.
- 195. See Book IV and Handiqui, op. cit., pp. 34 ff.
- 196. For details see <u>Kuvalayamala</u>, part 2, Introduction, p.33 and the text 72. 34ff.
- 197. See in this connection Jain, J. C. Life etc. pp. 154ff.
- 198. See Jain J.C. Prakrit Sahitya Ka itihasa p. 266.
- 199. See for details, Kuvalayamala, part 2, Introduction, pp. 29-30 and the text 53. 6-9.
- 200. See Avimaraka, Eng. Translation by J. Masson, Delhi, 1970, pp. 36ff.
- 201. Bhava 8, pp. 730f.
- 202. Ibid, 2, pp. 87f; 8, p. 759.
- 203. 38. 16. 98.
- 204. 1. 2.
- 205. Bhava 9, p. 922.

- 206. Kuvalayamala, part 2, Introd. of Upadhye, p. 45 and text, 150. 6-9.
- 207. Kadambari, (Chowkhamba ed.) pp. 554, 631 (purvardha).
- 208. <u>Dasakumaracarita</u>, (Chowkhamba ed.) pp. 320ff (Uttarapithika, 6th Book).
- 209. Kuvalayamala, part 2, Introd. of Upadhye, p. 28 and text 46. 5 -8.
- 210. See Sen, M. op. cit., p. 98.
- 211. Chowkhamba ed., pp. 347 ff.
- 212. 4, pp. 296 -97.
- 213. Kalpasutra, pp. 76 ff.
- 214. See Jain, P. S., <u>op. cit.</u> pp. 127f; see also the text 17. 27; 17. 28 and 18.30.
- 215. See Mahavagga (tr. I. B. Horner), pp. 381 ff.
- 216. See Brhatkathakoga, story No. 107.
- 217. See Rajatarangini (Stein's Trans.), V. 74ff.
- 218. See Sen, M. op. cit., p. 97 . Also NC, 2, p. 140.
- 219. Ibid., p. 98; see also NC , 3, p. 227.
- 220. See chapter 8, pp. 244ff (Cowell's trans.)
- 221. See Jataka No. 417 (Cowell, op. cit, III, pp.253 f); see also Jataka, No. 432.
- 222. Arthasastra, p. 190.
- 223. See <u>Vedic Age</u>, p. 392.
- 224. See S.B., XIV. I.I. 31 and also Vedic Age, p. 424.
- 225. See 1. 10; 28. 20; Also Vedic Age, p. 519.
- 226. 21.8 10.

- 227. See Mbh, Critical edition, III. 72. 8; also 68.21ff; and 69.2.
- 228. See IV. 26.
- 229. XV. 97.
- 230. See in this connexion <u>Mahawastu</u> (R.G. Basak), Calcutta-1965, pp. 97f.
- 231. See (Motilal Bamarsidass) Delhi, 1975, Sarīra, X.53.
- 232. See Watters, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 168.
- 233. See Sachan, Alberuni's India, II, p. 155.
- 234. See Chapter I, pp. 32-33 (Cowell's trans.).
- 235. See Chowkhamba edition, pp. 505ff.
- 236. See Brhatsamhita, ch.74.
- 237. See A. Mitra Shastri, op. cit. p. 208.
- 238. <u>Harivansa</u>, 14. 32 ff.
- 239. See chs. 6 ff.
- 240. 81. 8ff.
- 241. 12. 53 ff.
- 242. See pp.32 ff.
- 243. See pp. 194 ff.
- 244. Book IV, p. 152; See also Handiqui, op. cit, p. 105.
- 245. 24. 43.
- 246. See Handiqui, op. cit, pp. 34 ff.
- 247. 1. 146; see also Handiqui, op. cit, p. 106.
- 248. Brhatkathakosa pp. 26f.
- 249. Ibid., pp. 28f.
- 250. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 214 f.

- 251. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 218 ff.
- 252. See ch. 24 verses 5ff.
- 253. See Book 8, pp. 738 f, 759 and also Book 2, pp.87 f.
- 254. Act. II, p. 32.
- 255. See Kuvalayamala, 160. 9ff.
- 256. Vedic Age, p. 392.
- 257. See Critical edition, I, chapters 65 ff.
- 258. See Gita Press edn., VII, chs. 88f.
- 259. See Vishnu Purana. V, chs. 26, 32; see also Matsya P, chs. 26 tt.
- 260. See Chowkhamba edition, III. 5. 29 30.
- 261. See in this connexion, cr.ed., I, 161. 13.
- 262. See Cowell, Jataka Stories, Nos. 4, 7, 232, 479 etc. etc.
- 263. See J. C. Jain, <u>Life etc.</u>, p. 159.
- 264. See for the date of this work, Alsdorf in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. 8, 1935-37, pp.319 ff.
- 265. See J. C. Jain's analysis of some of the Love-stories of this work in <u>Prakrit Sahitya Ka itihasa</u>, Varanasi, 1961, pp. 381 ff; and also Chatterjee, <u>A Comprehensive History of Jainism</u>. Vol. I, pp. 278 ff; and also Alsdorf's analysis in Vol. 8 of Oriental Studies Bulletin, pp. 319 ff; see in this connexion, <u>J. 5.B.9. VIE</u>, pp.140ff.
- 266. See 4.16, p. 85; see also J. C. Jain, op.cit. p.159.
- 267. See J. C. Jain, op. cit, pp. 377 ff.
- 268. See pp. 85ff.
- 269. 14. 32 ff(Tdited by P.L. Jain, And edn., Delhi, 1978).

- 270. See <u>Thid.</u>, 66. 52, which tells us that this work was completed in Saka 705, corresponding to 783 A.D.
- 271. See Raghu, VIII 48 ff.; Malavikagnimitram, Acts IIff.;

 Meghadutam, etc. etc.
- 272. See Angultara Nikaya (trans by Hark), IV, pp. 143f; text (Nalanda ed.), III, p. 319.
- 273. See IV. 26 (Calcutta, Aryasastra edn.).
- 274. See XV. 97 (Calcutta Aryasastra edn.).
- 275. See for example, Manusmrti, III. 33; Vishnusmrti, 24.18, etc.
- 276. See <u>Prakrit Proper Names</u>, I, p. 420; and <u>Prasnavvakaranatika</u>
 (Abhayadeva), p. 88.
- 277. See Vol. II, p. 165; and P. P. N., I, p. 265.
- 278. See Vol. II, p. 161.
- 279. Cr. ed., I, 67.11, 13.
- 280. For the description of this marriage, see <u>Mshabharata</u>,

 I, Chapters 211 f (Cr. ed.)
- 281. See I, Chapters, 175ff.
- 282. See III, Chapter 54.
- 283. See VI.
- 284. See Majumdar, R. C., The Classical Accounts of India,
 Calcutta, 1960, p. 231.
- 285. See I, 90.83, 87.
- 286. See Book XVI, pp. 179ff. for the description of this Svavanvara, see J. C. Jain, Life etc.,p. 158.
- 287. For the description, see J.C.Jain, Life etc.pp.158-9.
- 288. See 2. 3446; and also Nisitha Curni, IV, p. 62; see also M. Sen, op. cit. pp. 100-01, and J.C. Jain, op. cit., p. 159.

- See for example, Manusmrti, III. 5; and XI.172-73; Yuan Chwang, writing in the 7th century, obviously speaks about the absence of cousin-marriage, when he says "The members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart. Relations, whether by the father's or the mother's side, do not intermarry"; see Watters, op. cit, Vol. I, p. 168; see also S.B.E.II, p. 126 (Apastamba, II. 5, 11. 16).
- 290. See in this connexion Vedic Age, p. 518.
- 291. See Vedic Index, I, p. 475
- 292. See II, p. 181; see also M. Sen, op. cit., p. 102.
- 293. For example, the marriage of Arjuna with Subhadra.
- 294. See 18. 131; 21. 39; etc.
- 295. See 2nd Bhava (Jacobi).
- 296. The author Haribhadra was one of the teachers of Udyotana, who flourished in Saka 700.
- 297. See 24. 22; 38.46; 41. 56,59 etd; See also & K.R.Chandra,

 A Critical Study of Paumacariyam, Vaisali, 1970, p. 347.
- 298. See E.I., 7, pp.36 ff; "Cambay Plates of Govinda IV"
- 299. XV. 97.
- 300. IV. 26.
- 301. See Cr. ed., III. 68. 21; 72.8 etc.
- 302. (Nalanda edition), Book XV, Krses 402 ff; English translation by K.R. Norman entitled The Elders Verses, II. 414 ff.
- 303. Ed. R.G. Basak, Calcutta, 1965, Vol. II, pp. 97f.
- 304. See Watters, op. cit., I, p. 168.

- 305. See Sachan, Alberuni's India, Reprint, Delhi, 1964, Vol. II, p. 155.
- 306. See Chapters 14-15.
- 307. 2nd Bhava (ed. Jacobi).
- 308. See Bhava 2, p. 100.
- 309. See 7. 210 ff (ed. P.L., Vol. I, pp. 157 ff).
- 310. 7. 243- 244.
- 311. See II. 3.17 (Gita Press)
- The entire play is dominated by the great personality of the prostitute Vasantasena, who has been described as the <u>nagara-Śri</u> of Ujjayini (Chowkhamba ed., Act VIII, p. 436).
- The author Vaotsyayana has several chapters for the prostitutes, see Kamasutra (Chowkhamba), see the 6th Adhikarana and all its six chapters. (pp. 601 703).
- 314. See 170- 71; see also P. S. Jain, op. cit, pp. 129-30.
- 315. See Cowell's beautiful translation, pp. 123 ff.
- 316. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 131.
- 317. See the Aggannasultanta of the Digha N, III (Nalanda), pp. 73 ff.; see also Ambattha Sulta of the same Digha N, where the Buddha accepts the divisions of caste. In other places of the Pali Nikayas, the Buddha describes the Kshatriyas as the best caste which indirectly proves that he had faith in the ancient caste system.
- 316. 16. 187; in 16.187 Jinasena I has distinguished between touchables and untouchables.
- 319. See op. cit., p. 168.

- 320. See <u>Nitivakvamrta</u> 31.1.
- 321. See Susrutasamhita (Motilal Banarsidass), 5-arina, 10.53.
- 322. See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, p. 396.
- 323. (Gita press) II. 3. 17.
- 324. See Sharmasastry, trans, pp. 139 ff.
- 325. See Nalanda edition, pp. 246, 286.
- 326. See Nalanda edition of the Digha, II, pp. 73 ff.
- 327. See p. 287.
- 328. Chowkhamba edition p. 697 (VI.6. 50).
- 329. See Acts I, II and IV (Chowkhamba edition).
- 330. See Acts, I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII and X (Chowkhamba edition).
- 331. See Act VIII, p. 436.
- 332. See pp. 66 f (Kota, 1935).
- 333. See p. 175.
- 334. Para 118.
- 535. See Introduction, pp. 33 ff of Sandeswara's Gujarati translation of the Vasudevahindi, Vol. I.
- 336. See M. Sen, op. cit., pp. 112 f.
- 337. Loc. cit.
- 338. III, p. 586 (quoted by M. Sen, op. cit., p. 113, fn. 1)
- 339. See I, 43 (ed. A. N. Upadhyr, Bombay, 1938).
- 340. See XXIII. 35, 42 etc.
- 341. See I, p.53; II, p. 92; IV, pp. 339-40; VII, p.634 etc.
- 342. See 17. 83, 86.
- 343. See 7. 243, 245.
- 344. 21. 41 ff(The edition of P.L. Jain, New Delhi, 1978).

- See A. Mitra Shastri, <u>India as seen in the Kuttani-mata</u>

 OF Damodaraguota, Delhi, 1975, pp. 20 ff.
- 346. See No. 93 and pp. 218 f.
- 347. See No. 95.
- 348. 95. 18.
- 349. 59. 258 ff (Delhi, 2nd edition, 1968).
- 350. 59. 263.
- 351. 72. 258.
- 352. See J. C. Jain, <u>Life etc.</u>, p. 165.
- 353. See Prakrit Proper Names, I,p. 385.
- 354. See Jain, op. cit. p. 165.
- 355. R. 111 (edited by L. B. Gandhi, Bombay, 1949).

CHAPTER 3 III

Cultural Life

Section (i) : Education

As early as the Rgvedic period, some sort of education was regularly imparted to the children belonging to the higher castes. The Brahmanas particularly received regular training from their gurus, and we have copious references to such gurus in the Vedic literature. However, it is very difficult to get a correct picture about the system of education in Vedic times. It appears from the Upanisads that the asramas of renowned philosophers and munis served as educational institutes; but the majority of students in these asramas were the children of Brahmanical families, and occasionally a few Ksatriyas were admitted to such places. That even a few Ksatriyas possessed advanced learning is proved by the fact that kings like Asvapati Kekaya and Amatasatru of Kasi are even represented as teachers of learned Brahmanas. It has been claimed that the Frog Hymn (VII. 103) of the Rgveda refers, for the first time, to the clamour of students reciting the Veda. epics we find princes like Rama, Laksmana and the Pandavas, headed by Yudhisthira and others, receiving training in various sciences from their gurus. However, the science of archery was more popular than other vidyas and we have in the Mahabharata, an elaborate description of the princes of the Kaurava family

taking lessons from the renowned teacher Dronacarya, who was specially appointed for this purpose by Bhisma himself. The relevant passages of this epic prove that at the completion of their education, the royal pupils had to give gurudaksina to Dronacarya. This gurudaksina was in the form of half of the Pancala Kingdom. The Ramayana refers to the various sciences which the sons of Dasaratha had to learn in their childhood. However, the emphasis in this ease also was upon the science of warfare. It appears that during the period of the composition of the two epics the gurus rarely charged regular fees from the students. Only after the end of their education, the students of attlement of Dronacarya proves.

about the education of pre-christian times. The Jataka No. 252 informs us that the prince Brahmadatta had to pay an advance fee consisting of 1,000 pieces (Kahāpanas) to his teacher at Takṣāsilā. This prince had to spend a number of years there with his guru. Jīvaka, the adopted son of Abhayakumāra, spent seven years at a medical school of Takṣāsilā. However, it should be remembered that not all students could afford to pay proper fees to their gurus, and they rendered service in various ways to their teachers in lieu of fees.

The Jain canonical literature also gives us a good idea about the system of education of those days. As noted by Prof. J. C. Jain, 8 there were three kinds of teachers. The teacher of arts (kalayariya) the teacher of

crafts (sippayariya) and the teacher of religion (dhammayariya). Generally the relation between teachers and students was cordial, but the mischievous and inattentive students were reprimanded with kicks, slaps etc. The commentary of the Uttaradhyayana, as quoted by Prof. J. C. Jain shows that the students sometimes lived in the house of the teacher and sometimes were fed by the rich people of the town. canonical texts also give us some idea about the subjects of study, which included the study of the four Vedas, Itihasa, Nighantu, the Vedangas, comprising various sciences. two later canonical texts viz., the Nandisutra 10 and the Anuvogadvara 11 give us the names of some works on popular learning. The are Bharaha (Bharata), Ramavana, Bhimasurukka, Kodillaya, Ghodayamuha, Sagadibhaddian, Kappasia, Nagasuhuna, <u>Kanagasattari, Vesiya, Vaisesiya, Buddhasasana, Kawila,</u> Logavata, Satthiyanta, Madhara, Purana, Vagarana (Vyakarana) Nadaga, seventy-tuo arts, and the four Vedas with Angas and Upangas. The Nandi Sutra includes a few more names such as Terasiva, Bhagava, Pavanjali, and Pussadeva.

The Paumacariyam composed in the early centuries of the Christian era, also throws a flood of light on the educational system of the Jains. The teacher was known as <u>upadhyaya</u>, (<u>uvajihaya</u>), expression, used not only in the Jain texts but also in the early Bhahmanical works. This work 13 also uses the term antevasin for the student, a term

also mentioned frequently in the Mathura epigraphs. 14 term sisya is frequently found in this text and also in the Mathura Jain inscriptions off the early christian period. 15 This work, however does not refer to the remuneration paid to teachers and as a matter of fact the Manusamhita 16 denounces the practice of accepting fees from students. However, that work recommends the giving of various kinds of presents to the guru. The Paumacariyam also frequently ? ... refers to the fact that student often travelled to distant places for study. The are feferences to co-education 18 in this work. A large educational centre of Rajagrha has been mentioned by Vimala, 19 whose Principal was a man called Vivasvata, who had no less than 1,000 students. The Paumacarivam also mentions various subjects of study including script, grammer, prosady, Jain literature (jinasasanasruti), Vedanga, Upanga, Aranyaka, Ramayana, Bharata, treatises on polity and Dhahurveda.

The seventh-century text Nisitha Curni
gives us plenty of information on the system of education of
those days. It is interesting to note that even young
learned Jain monks are described as the teacher of old monks
(parinayaya). In this connection we come across the word
dahara which means a small child, a term satirically used
for a young teacher. This particular word as noted by M.
Sen has been used by the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim

I-tsing. An acarva was naturally expected to be well-versed in various scriptures, and the students came from almost every caste. Only deserving students were taught by the teachers, and the teachers were warned against accepting pad or fickle-minded pupils. The student was required to occupy a seat lower than his teacher and the had to show proper respect to him, The Acaryas on the other hand, were enjoyined to guide the students properly. 22 The evidence of the Nisitha Curni proves that the main subject of study was the Jain canon itself, although other subjects like, grammar, mathematics, astrology, astronomy, logic, nimittasastra (science of omens) etc., were also taught by the acaryas. Although the stress was laid on oral transmission, but use of writing also in education, was surely prevalent, and the discovery of thousands of Jain manuscripts on numerous subjects proves that copying of manuscripts was a favourite pastime of the learned Jain monks. It also appear that even non-Jain works were studied and this is evident from the discovery of a great number of non-Jain manuscripts in Jain Bhandard

The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> and other texts have frequently mentioned the <u>lekhasalas</u>. As noted by M. Sen, the <u>lekhasala</u> is called by the name <u>darakasala</u>, (meaning school for the children) in the commentary on <u>Brhatkalpabhasya</u>. The teachers of such schools were known by the name <u>darakacarya</u>. 24

The great seventy-century Brahmanical work

viz., the Kadambari gives us a beautiful picture of the education of prince Candrapida, who was sent to a school (vidvamandira), at a quite tender age, alongwith boys of his age, belonging to noble families. We are told that nobody except the parents were allowed to meet the prince during his ten-year period of study. He was given education of all types including, physical education. We are durther told by Banabhatta that this vidvamandira was surrounded by high walls to prevent trespassers. It appears that such vidvamandiras were located everywhere near major cities, and they were somewhat different from the asramas of earlier times. 25

The Kuvalayamala of Udyotanasuri also gives a vivid picture of an educational institution (matha), of the eighth century, in which students from various ianapadas like Iadha, (Gujarat). Kanna a, Marahattha, Sorattha, Dhakka (probably the same as Takka or central Punjab), Srikantha (the ianapada near the river Sarasvati) and Simhala-dasha used to reside. It appears that such residential educational institutes were radically different from the vidvamandira, described by Bana. In this particular institute, various subjects including physical sciences, painting, music, various philosophies (including six systems of Indian philosophy), were taught. The teachers of this institute were also well-read in subjects like Mantra, yoga, aniana, dhatuvada, garudavidva, jyotisa, svapna, rasa, rasayana,

chhandas nivukta and various other subjects, some of which have been recommended by the author of the Kamasutra. Elsewhere in his work, Udyotana has made a caricature of the Vedic students, who tried to memorise the Vedic texts. They have been delineated as fat fools and of violent disposition. bereft of upright morals. According to him, they were more interested in gazing at young girls then their books. The author of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u>, it is interesting to note, has mentioned the popularity of the study of Arthasastra at Varanasi like Bang, the hero of Udyotana's work is also represented as being sent away at the age of eight years to a vijjaghara, to commence his studies under the guidance of a lekhacarya. The priod of his education lasted for twelve years, during the course of which, he mastered the 72 kalas. The close similarity of the descriptions of the young princes' education given, by Bana and Udyotanasuri clearly suggests that the vijjaghara of the Kuvalayamala was the same kind of educational institution, as the vidyamandira, mentioned in the <u>Kadambari</u>. These residential schools were meant exclusively for theelite. In the post-Gupta and early medieval period, we find several towns and regions of India, specially associated with advanced learning. In this connection, we should first mention the great University of Nalanda, which surely sprang into prominence from the post-Gupta period. We have a beautiful description of this University in the account of Yuan Chwang. The Chinese pilgrim informs us that several

kings, belonging to different periods, patronised this Institute. In this University, we are told, there were several thousand students and a great number of eminent teachers, who were held in esteem by scholars all over India. King Devapala of Bengal, is known from an inscription to have patronised this University.

Another well-known centre of specialized education was Valabhi in Gujarat which according to I-tsing (third quarter of 7th century) was as great centre of learning as Nalanda in Eastern India. The same pilgrim gives us the information that the graduates of Valabhi were appointed to high posts, elsewhere in the country. We should further remember that the final Jain Council was held at this great centre of learning and some of the finest Jain philosophars including. Jinabhadra were associated with this place. Altekar quotes a passage from the Kathasaritsagara, which represents Valabhi as a centre of learning, where even persons belonging to the Brahmin class went for higher education. Altekar has also drawn attention to a passage of a later inscription, according to which Valabhi, continued as an educational centre, even after its destruction by the Muslims in the second half of the 8th century.

Another famous educational centre of the early medieval period was Vikramasila of Bihar, which was founded in the 8th century and continued for more than four centuries.

Like Nalanda and Valabhi, this University was also destroyed 35 by the ravaging Muslims.

Kashmir, also, was a well-known place of learning from very early times, though like Nalanda and Vikramsila, it had practically no connection with Jainism. Al - Biruni, writing in 1030 A.D., observes, that it attracted students 36 37 from Mid - India. The Buddhist sources also prove that Kashmir was a noted centre of learning from very early times. This is also confirmed by the evidence of Bilhana, the author of 38 the Vikramańkadevacarita.

Somadeva in his <u>Yasastilakacampu</u> has also thrown light on the education system of his days. His evidence proves that even women received good education. Somadeva further uses the expression gurukula. Prince Yasodhara's range of education has thus been described by Somadeva. We are told that he was as great expert as Prajapati in varnas, Pujyapada in granmar, (Sabdasastra), Akalanka in logic, Kavi in rajaniti, Romapada in the elephant lore, Raivata in Asvavidya, Arjuna in rathavidya, Parasurama in sastravidya, Sukanasa in ratnapariksa, Bharata in dramaturgy and music, Kasiraja (Dhanvantari) in medical science, Dattaka in kamasastra etc. This shows that the subjects, mentioned by Somadeva, were taught in various schools of these days. The earlier Samaraiccakaha also makes similar statements regarding education of the early medieval period. Like Yasodhara the hero here viz., Samaraditya has been represented as receiving

a sound education which began with his initial training under a lekhācārva. However, it should be noted that education in those days were primarily meant for kings, nobles and other affluent people. The common man could hardly afford the luxury of receiving education in the schools, not to speak of distant educational centres. In this connection, we may refer to the view of Varahamihira in his Yogavātrā (4.26) that 41a learning of a poor man ends owing to family worries. We have already seen that the 64 and 72 arts were generally taught in the advanced schools of those days. Haribhadra, however, in this work, mentions altogether 89 arts which covered almost all the known fields of study of those days.

Regarding writing materials, the author of the 43
Brhatsamhita
affirms
that
palm
leaf, cloth, lotus-leaf,
reeds, leather, silk etc., were used for writing. That some
of the manuscripts of earlier times were quite attractive is
clear from the evidence of a Buddhist text, which refers to
a book with a colourful cover. As oral education was the
medium of instruction, written manuscripts were quite scarce,
and this is confirmed by the evidence of the Chinese pilgrims.
However, a large number of Jain manuscripts of the medieval
period have been found from different bhandars of Gujarat,
Karnataka and Rajasthan. The Nisitha Curni mentions five
kinds of books These are: a) gandipotthaga or books, whichever
square in shappe, b) Kacchavi i.e. wide at the Centre and
narrowing towards the ends, c) mutthi
mutthi
muthi
Centre
and
narrowing
towards the ends, c) muthi
<a hr

Vrtta (circular) in shape, whose length measured four fingers, d) sampudaphalaga or books made by stitching the leaves at the centre and e) chevadi or those made with thin leaves (tanupatta) whose length were longer than their breadth.

Section : (ii): Medical Science.

Even in the early Vedic literature we have frequent references to doctors, various types of medicines and physicians. The entire hymn (10.97) of the Reveda is addressed to the Oshadhis (the plants), with special references to their curative powers. The Asvins particularly are represented as divine physicians and we have even references to the science of surgery.

The Mauryan king Asoka is known to have patronised the science of medicine and claims that he himself built a number of hospitals both for men and beasts. The second Rock Edict refers to both manushyacikitsa and pasucikitsa.

The same edict also refers to the planting of various types of 47 medicinal herbs.

From the Buddhist canonical literature, we know that the personal physician of Sakyamuni was Jivaka, who received intensive training in medical science at Takshasila. This definitely proves that as early as 6th century B. C., not only the science of medicine was popular, but there were also sophisticated medical institutes in India. A study of

the two great medical works viz. the <u>Sugruta</u> and <u>Caraka</u>
<u>Saminitas</u> shows that there were many earlier medical
authobities, quite a few of whom, apparently flourished
before the Mauryan period. The Classical authorities,
particularly, refer to the knowledge of Indians regarding
the cure from snake-bite.

stage by the Gupta period. Fa-hien refers to the rest houses 50 and Yuan Chwang also does not fail to take note of those hospitals, in which, according to him, medicine and food were freely distributed. The literature of the Gupta period also proves that the science of medicine was quite popular. Kalidasa also, refers to snake-doctors who used to save their victims from inevitable death. In the Sakuntala, also, there is passage which affirms that even for ordinary fevers the help of doctors

We have a graphic picture of a diseased person 53 in the famous Harshacarita of Banabhatta, which describes the last days of emperor Prabhakaravardhana. We are told by Bana that Harsha's father, Prabhakaravardhana, was afflicted with typhoid (dahajvara). Incidentally, the Harshacarita also refers minutely to the various arrangements made for the royal patient. The relevant passage is quoted below: "In the White House (palace) a deep silence reigned. Numerous lackeys thronged the vestibule; a triple veil hid the salon; the inner door closed;

the panels were forbidden to creak, closed windows kept out
the draughts. Anguished attendants, chamberlains furious at
a tramp of footsteps on the stairs, all orders issued in
noiseless signs. Not quite near the king, sat a man in armour;
in a corner stood one bearing a gargling bowl, flurried by
frequent summonses; ". The vivid description of Bana
shows that all kinds of precautions were taken to save the
life of the king from that deadly disease. We are also told

the name of the King's personal physician namely, Sushena.

The testimony of Bana indirectly shows that nursing also was
considered as indispensable, as the administration of medicine.

Yuan-Chwang, bhowever, reports that ordinary
people, when afflicted with incurable diseases, used to commit
55
suicide in the Ganges. He further adds that during ordinary
fevers, physicians used to recommend fasting for seven days
and only after that period, the patients were prescribed
medicine. He also refers to the fact that there were medicines
of various kinds, each having specified name. He also refers
to the skill of Indian doctors of his time.

In the Jain canonical literature, there are not only references to various types of diseases, but also to medicines and physicians. In his own personal life, Lord Mahavira was once treated by a devoted householder, called Revati, with some special diet when he was down with serious fever, after, a debate with Gosala at Sravasti. In the

Vipakasruta, there is a pointed reference to the renowned physician Dhanvantari, who has been condemned in this work for prescribing 'meat diet'. This shows that the Jain writer of this canonical text was acquited with the system of medicine, prescribed by the school of physicians headed by Dhanvantari. Elsewhere in the Jain canonical works, we have detailed reference to several branches of medical science including paediactrics (kumarabhicca), surgery and midwifery (Salaga), the treatment of eye, ear, nose and throat (Sallahattha), the treatment of bodily diseases (kayatigicha), toxicology (jangola), demonology (bhuvavijja), the science and art of restoring health in old age (rasavana) and sexual rejuvenation (vajikarana or kharatanta). The Nisitha Curni gives us a lot of information not only on various types of diseases, but also on the proper medicine. We are told that one who has proper knowledge of theoretical and practical application of Vejjasattha (Vaidyasastra) can be called a mahavejja (mahavaidya) i.e. a great physician. According to this text Vaidvasastra (science of medicine) mainly deals with the following three principal types of diseases, viz., Watita, pittiva, and simbhiya, or in other words, those arising from disorder of air, bile and phlegm. It has been claimed that the author of the Nisitha Curni generally follows the Susruta Samhita, while dealing with diseases and its various remedies. It actually refers to Dhanvantari (the original medical authority repeatedly mentioned in the <u>Susruta Samhita</u>), more than once. This work also distinguishes between <u>vyadhi</u> and <u>roga</u>; the former could cause death, but the letter could be cured slowly. The <u>Nisitha</u>

<u>Bhashya</u> mentions eight types of <u>vyadhis</u> and sixteen types

<u>rogas</u>, and a similar list of sixteen types of <u>rogas</u> will be found in the original cannon. A very useful list of allogether

28 diseases will be found in the <u>Nisitha Curni</u>; they are there reproduced below:

ajira (indigestion), ameha (disease causing loss of wisdom), arisila or arisa (piles), bhagamdara (fistula), daddu (ringworm), dagodara (ascites), daha or dahajara, (inflammation or typhoid fever), ganda, (boils), gandamala_ (scrofula), gilasini (probably a disease caused by over appetite), Jaloyara (same as dagodara or dakodara) , kasa (cough), kidima (a type of skin-dosease or leprosy), which is also mentioned by Susruta, Kuttha (leprosy), mandaggi (dyspepsia), <u>padala</u> (eye-disease), <u>pama</u> (eczema), <u>pittiya</u> (disease caused by the disorder or bile), sannipata (a disease caused by the simultaneous disorder of Vata, pitta, and cough), (simbha), silippa (elephantiases), simbhiya (disease caused by the disorder of phlegm (sleshma), sula (colic pain), suniya (swelling), timira (eye disease, it is also mentioned by Susruta), vamana (vomiting), vatita (same as vataroga) i.e. wind-trouble, vikiccika (propriasis), visucika (cholera).

Quite a few of the common diseases are also mentioned

in Haribhadra's Samaraiccakaha. There are several references to serious headache, 71 for which doctors had to be summoned. Quite a few of the diseases, mentioned in the Nisitha Curni are referred to in this text. They are timira, kushtha, 73 kushtha, 5 jalodara etc. Another disease called mahodara sannipata 77 is also mentioned in the Caraka Samhita. Haribhadra refers to the disease, which causes deafness. 79 In the Susruta Samhita we have a good chapter on the diseases connected with ear.

the Yasastilakacampu of Somadeva. A few common diseases like indigestion, 87 vomiting, 82 common fever 85 etc., are mentioned along with serious ailments like bhagandara, 84 kushtha, 85 gulma, 86 etc. In the Nitivakavamrta 87 of the same author, we are told, that this disease viz., fiztula is caused by the attempt to check mala, mutra, sukra, wind etc. Five types of bhagandara are mentioned in the Susruta Samhita. 88 In this connection the Nitivakavamrta also mentions diseases like asmari (strangury) gulma (enlargement of spleen) and area (piles).

For the snake-bite, the <u>Nisitha Curni</u>

prescribes several remedies, a few of which are also recommended by the author of the <u>Susruta Samhita</u>. 91 Quite a number surgical instruments also have been mentioned by the author of the <u>Nisitha Curni</u>. 92 The surgeons were required to extract

arrows from the body of the injured soldiers. 93

In this connection, it should be pointed out that the Jain Angaviija (written around 300 A. D.), contains a valuable list 94 of various diseases, most of which are however mentioned by Susruta and Caraka and repeated in the Jain texts of our period. The Brhatsamhita 95 (6th century) also contains a list of some 25 diseases.

That the Jains from quite early times took serious interest in the science of medicine is proved by a large number of medical texts, written by them. Digambara Ugraditya's Kalyanakaraka, 96 which was written in the days of Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha I (first half of the 9th century), mentions not only Samantabhadra's Siddhantarasayana, but also the latter's Ashtangasangraha. Among other medical texts, referred to by Ugraditya, 98 the following may be mentioned—Salakyatantara (Pujyapada), Salyatantra (Patrakesarin)

Kayacikitsa (Dasaratha), Balacikitisa (Meghanada) and two other works respectively by Siddhasena and Simhanada.

However, not a single of these works, mentioned by the author of the Kalyanakaraka, has now survived.

Ugraditya's work has altogether 25 chapters (adhikara) and it deals practically with all aspects of medical science, including diseases caused by vata, pitta, kapha, poison, etc. It also deals with medical qualities of agricultural products (chapter iv) and also food (ch. v).

Saction (Iii) : Music and Dance

Music was a part of ancient Indian life from the early Vedic period. The frog-hymn of the Rgveda refers to musical chanting of the Brahmanas, engaged in the extraction of the Soma juice. The very existence of Samaleva proves the originality of the ancient Indians in the science of vocal music. Several musical instruments like vina, vana (flute or wind instrument), Aghati (cymbal), karkari (lute), dundubhi (drum) etc., have been mentioned in the Vedic literature. 100 In the epics and also in the works of Kalidasa, there are reference to musical instruments. According to the Ramavana 101 the essential qualities of music should be (i) it should be in accordance to recognised scale, (ii) it should be composed of seven notes and svaras, (iii) it should be accompanied by one of the stringed instruments like vina, or vivanci. It should also be adopted to three speeds (i) druta (ii) madhya or vilambita. Kalidasa mentions several types of mucical instruments, which prove their popularity in his period. These instruments include vina, turvavadva, mrdanga, venu, pushkara, muraja, dundubhi, jalaja, ghanta

The Angavijja knows vina, masuraka, pakhara (Sanskrit pushkara), daddaraka, alinga and murava. The Paumacarivam 105 of Vimala mentions not only vocal music with seven musical notes, but also several types of musical

instruments like vina, jhallari, ghanta, khinkhini (kinkini), kamsyatala, sankha, venu, dundubhi, padaha (pataha), dhola (drum), kahala (large drum), kharamukhi, dhakka (big drum), bhambha, bheri, panava, huduka, mrdanga (tabor) murava (i.e. muraja, another kind of tabor), damara (very small drum). It also mentions ainga (i.e. alinga), which Monier-Williams 107 explains as a "small drum shaped like a barley-corn and carried upon the breast". However, the most exhaustive list of musical instruments, is given in the Jain canonical texto the Rayapasendiya (Rajaprasniya) Sutta, which as noted by J. C. Jain, 109 mentions no less than sixty musical instruments.

The list is reproduced below :-

- 1. sankha, 2. singa, 3. sankhiya,
- 4. kharamuhi, 5. peya, 6. piripiriya, 7. panava, 8. padaha,
- 9. <u>bhambha</u> (also called <u>dhakka</u>), 10. <u>horambha</u> (also called mahadhakka), 11. <u>bheri</u>, 12. <u>jahllari</u>, 15. <u>dunduhi</u>, 14. <u>muraya</u>,
- 15. muinga, 16. nandimuinga, 17. alinga, 18. kutumba, 19. gomuhi,
- 20. maddala, 21. vina, 22. vipanci, 23. vallaki, 24. mahati,
- 26. kacchabhi, 26. cittavina, 28. sughosa, 29. nandighosa,
- 30. bhamari, 31. chabbhamari, 32. paravayani, 33. tuna,
- 34. tumbavina, 35. amota, 36. ihaniha, 37. nakula, 38. mugunda,
- 39. hudukti, 40. vicikki, 41. karada, 42. dindima, 43. kiniya,
- 44. kadamba, 45. daddariya, 46. daddaraga, 47. kalasiya,
- 48. maddaya. tala, 50. tala. 51. kamsatala, 52. ringirisiya,

53. <u>lattiva</u>, 54. <u>magariva</u>, 55. <u>sumsumariva</u>, 56. <u>vamsa</u>, 57. <u>velu</u>, 58. <u>vali</u>, 59. <u>parilli</u>, 60. <u>baddhaga</u>.

The Jain texts of our period also throw a 110 flood of light on music. The Nisitha Curni mentions four varieties of vocal music, namely tamtisama, talasama, and layasama. The first variety was music, accompanied by stringed instruments (tantri), the second by rhythmic beating of the drums, the third (gahasama) is the music in unison with voices or notes (svaras) and the forth with lava (time on measure). The same text 111 also informs us that music was practiced by both males and females. It also refers to the place where music was regularly practiced. It was known as gandharva-natta-sala. The original Nisithasutra 113 mentions thirty five types of musical instruments, almost all of which, are mentioned in the Rayapaseneiva list, quoted above.

We are indebted to the commentator Jinadasa for explaining some of the instruments mentioned in the original Nisitha Sutra list and most of which are also referred to in the Rayapaseneiya and other canonical texts. It explains kharamuhi (Sanskrit kharamukhi), as a musical instrumente shapped like the mouth of an ass. 114 As we have already noticed, it is the fourth instrument, mentioned in the Rayapaseneiva list. The piripiritie according to the Nisitha Curni 115 was an instrument made by joining together two pieces of hollow sticks and its mouthpiece had only one opening. It was blown like sankha and produced three

different sounds simultaneously. This instrument also is referred to in the earlier canonical list, preserved in the Rayapaseneiva quoted above. Two new musical instruments namely guniapanava and bhambha were the musical instruments used by the elephant-drivers and Candalas (mayanga) according to the Nisitha Curni. 116 So far as the vina is concerned, it was included in the class called tata (stringed instrument) in the <u>Nisitha Sutra</u>. This was undoubtedly one of the oldest popular musical instruments of encient India and mentioned The Ramayana mentions it and its even in the Yajurveda. extreme popularity in the Gupta period is proved by the lyrist type of coins of Samudra Gupta. 119 Kalidasa in his Meghaduta prominently refers to this popular musical instrument and the 8th-century Jain writer Haribhadra in his <u>Samarāiccakahā</u> repeatedly refers to it. A type of vina called Sughosha with seventeen strings is mentioned in the Jain Harivamsa. 122

The Samaraiccakaha also mentions musical instruments like srnga, 123 bheri, turva, sankha, ghanta, mrdanga, pataha, 129 etc. The word turva which has its Prakrit equivalent in tura is surprisingly omitted in the comprehensive lists of the Ravapaseneiva and the Nisitha Sutra. However, different typess of this instrument are mentioned in Vimala's Paumacariyam. 150 K. R. Chandra opines that tura

turya meant both an individual instrument and also a band of instruments, played chiefly during wars. 131 The same work of Vimala refers to vibudhatura, 132 pahanatura and hanmabhisekatura. 134 The first was played in the early morning to awaken the sleeping king, the second during the commencement of the march of the army and the third during the birthablution ceremony. Although, ignored in the Vedic literature, the word turya occurs in Panini's Ashtadhyavi.

The <u>Kuvalayemala</u> mentions 24 types of musical instruments which includes <u>kahala</u>, <u>damara</u>, <u>tura</u>, <u>ghanta</u>, <u>venum mrdanga</u> etc. <u>Mrdanga</u> has a long history and is mentioned, for the first time, in the <u>Ramayana</u>. It is mentioned as <u>muinga</u> in the canonical list, given in the <u>Ravapaseneiva</u>, quoted above, and also in Vimala's <u>Paumacariyam</u>. It is generally explained a kind of tabor or drum and is also known according to the <u>Amarakosa 139</u> as <u>muraja</u>, although in the <u>Ravapaseneiva</u> list, they are mentioned separately. The repeated references to it in the <u>Kuvalayemala</u> show that this particular musical instrument was extremely popular in the Sth century. The ancient <u>mrdanga</u> has its parallel in khol used in modern Bengal.

The damaruka or damuru was popular according to the author of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u>, with the Saivas or Kapalikas.

It is known to the author of the Amarakosa; 142 the word damarin, as noted by M. M. Williams, is mentioned in the Bhagavatourana. It is the same as damarn or damaraka and means a sort of drum. Dandubhi, which was a type of large kettle-drum, is known even to the seers of the Vedic texts. It was used both is war and peace.

The Paumacariyam has the prakrit form dundubi and it was known even to the 10th century Jain author Somadeva, who mentions it in his Yasastilakacampu. 147 As noted above, the Rayapasenelya mentions it and Kalidasa also in his Raghuvamsa 148 refers to it. Jinasena I, the author of the Adipurana, also shows acquintance with this particular musical instrument.

Somadeva has also shown his thorough acquaintance with different musical instruments. He has altogether mentioned 23 types of musical instruments. It is interesting to note that in connection with the description of war, 150 he has mentioned at least 16 musical instruments including sankha, dhakka, karata, ghanta, kahala, dundubhi, pushkara, anaka, bhambha, tala, trivila, damaruka, runjavenu, vina, and jhallari. Elsewhere a few other musical instruments like vallaki, panava, mrdanga, bheri, tura, pataha, and dindima have been mentioned. 151

Theording to the Amarakosa, 152 vallaki was a type of vina.

Panava is also mentioned in the Amarakosha 153 and was a 154 kind of drum. The Adipurana 155 of Jinasena I, also mentions

this musical instrument. The Jain Harivamsa (31.14) mentions both panava and panavika. Bhambha is another interesting musical instrument, mentioned by Somadeva. As M.M. Williams notes, it is also mentioned in the Parisishtaparvan of Hemacandra and as noted above, one of its earliest references is found in the Paumacarivan of Vimala where it is represented as a musical instrument played during war. The canonical Rayapasendiya also mentions it. Regarding bheri (kettle-drum) it has to be pointed out that even in the epigraph of Asoka we have reference to it. It was also known to the canonical Jain writers, including, as noted above, in the Rayapaseneiva list. The Amarakosha identifies with dundubhi and Asoka's reference proves that it was popular in the battle field. Dindima also was a kind of drum and is mentioned along with damaru, maddu and jharjhara in the Amarakosha .

Dancing is as old as the civilisation 164 itself. The figure of the dancing girl, of the Harappan period, shows that even in the 3rd millenium B.C., this art surely had reached a developed stage. It was quite popular in the Vedic period. Kalidasa, repeatedly refers to dancing and the Malavikagnimitram and the Raghuvansa refer to various types of dances like chalika, khuraka, abhinava and sarmishta. The dancing master was called natvacarva. The Malavikagnimitram further refers to Ganadasa and Haradatta who were proficient teachers of music and dance and who were

regularly paid by the king. In this connection, Kalidasa also describes the heroine Malavika as a expert female dancer, 170 and a worthy disciple of Acarya Ganadasa. As shown by Saletore, the Gupta temple at Bhumara, shows several dancing styles, which were apparently current during the time of the Imperial Guptas.

The Paumacariyam of Vilama repeatedly refers to dancing and it appears from that work that both males and females received serious training in dancing.

Kaikeyi, the mother of Bharata, has been represented in this work as accomplished in music and dance. Elsewhere this work represents wives of Lakshmana as dancing with the music of vina before that hero. In another place Sita is represented as dancing before the Munis, while Rama played on vina. This suggests that vina was chiefly used during dancing.

The <u>Padmapurana</u> of Ravishena (7th century), has a chapter dealing with dances, music and other types of arts. It pointedly mentions three major types of dances, namely <u>angaharas rava</u>, <u>abhinavas rava</u> and <u>vvavamika</u>. The canonical texts, as shown by J. C. Jain, mention 32 types of dances (also called dramas). The Jain <u>Harivamsa</u> gives also a detailed description of seven primary notes of music and Vasudeva (the father of Vasudeva Krishna) is represented as a great exponent of <u>gandharva-vidya</u>, or in other words, the science of music. Elsewhere also in this work there is pointed 179 reference to dancing and dancer. It further appears from

this extremely valuable, dated work (saka 705) that dance was invariably accompanied with music in those days. An interesting reference to tandava dance is also to be found in this work.

The Samaraiccakaha refers to the dancing festivals in which prostitutes took part. But a much more detailed description of dancing will be found in the Adipurana, where the goddesses are represented as dancing before Marudevi, during the time of the pregnancy. In this connection, we have the expression nrtyagoshthi, which means a special assembly of dances. It should be noted that instruments like vina, mrdanga, muraya, panaya, sankha, were played during such dancing festivals.

Bana's Harshacarita gives a graphic and poetic description of mass-dance, in which the entire population of Sthanvisvara city took part. The author represents every individual including <u>Samantas</u> (petty kings), chamberlains, drunken young men, slaves (both male and female), wives of the harem and also prostitutes, as taking part in this dance. This description has probably non parallel in the entire range of Sanskrit literature and it also indirectly proves that dancing was an integral part of the cultural life of men and women in ancient India. Among the musical instruments, referred to in connection with this great description of dance, we may mention <u>turya</u>, <u>dundubhi</u>, <u>venu</u>, <u>jhellari</u>, <u>pataha</u>, <u>vina</u>, <u>kahala</u> etc.

The <u>Kuvalayamala</u>, composed some 150 years after Bana's Harshacarita, gives us a lot of information on dancing. We learn from this work 186 that even students of educational institutes (<u>matha</u>) were taught the art of dancing. The girl especially were trained in this Art. 187 It also refers, 188 like the author of the <u>Harshacarita</u>, to the dance of the ordinary citizens (<u>nagaraka</u>). During marriage-festivals even old women used to dance. 189 The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> 190 further refers to the fact that the entire population of the <u>Janavada</u> used to dance during Karmudi festivals. There is also a reference to the <u>tandaya</u> (<u>Brakrit tanidaya</u>) dance of Siva. Somadeva in his <u>Yasastilakacamon</u> also has enlightended on the art of dancing.

The canonical texts of both the Buddhists and the Jains show acquaintance with stage and drama. Both the terms 193

Decchaghara (sanskrit orekshagrha) and rangatthana

(sanskrit rangasthana) occur in the Jain canonical literature.

A prominent disciple of Buddha, called Talaputa, was an actor in his earlier life. The Bhagavati mentions the term vavanika, (sanskrit javanika) which also occurs in the early sanskrit literature.

Even in the Yajurveda 198 we have a term sailusha which means an actor.

The early non-canonical Jain text, namely the Paumacariyam refers to pecchanara belonging to Rama.

Therefore there is little doubt that the Jain writers from

quite early times were familiar with the art of drama and dramatic performances. The canonical texts of the Jains refer to thirty-two kinds of dance-dramas (nattavihim)

The great popularity of dramatic performances is indicated by the representative of the 8th century by the Jain savant Haribhadra, namely the Prakrit Samaraiccakaha. The evidence, supplied by that text proves the popularity of the dramatic art among the aristocratic people of the society. On the other hand, another contemporary Jain text, namely the Kuvalayamala 203 of Udyotana, composed in Saka 700, shows that the common people were extremely fond of dramatic performaces and even the villagers actively patronised the actors. Even the girls and housewives did not miss these theatrical performances and the lovers were particularly fond of dance and drama. The description given by Udyotana shows that like the modern village-folk, the theatrical performances were mainly shown during the night-time. 205 We also come across in this work, the terms rangamañoa 206 and mancasala.207 The Adiourana 208 of Jinasena I also refers to the staging of plays. From the elaborate description of that text it appears that instrumental music and various types of dance heightened the dramatic effect of the plays. The Svetambara work, well the Caupannamehaburksacariva210 of Silanka, written probably in the 9th century, describes the staging of an actual play

called <u>Vibudhananda</u>, which is "constructed in every respect upon the model of the classical drama". 211 The <u>Yasastilaka-campu</u> 212 also describes <u>natvasālās</u> of the 10th century, which were frequented both by the ordinary people and also the elite. Before the staging of an actual play, the players used to sing a song in praise of the goddess Sarasvatī, the presiding deity connected with <u>vidyā</u> 213 Thus it appears that upto the end of the Hindu period, drama was a popular form of entertainment.

The above discussion, though brief, forces us to conclude that music and dance were an integral part of our life in the period under review.

Section (iv) : Painting, Sculpture and Architecture

parts of India of the pre-historic period, proves the antiquity of painting in India. The earliest historical paintings are those of Jogimara caves in the Ramgarh hills and the earliest phase of Ajanta, both belonging to the pre-Christian period. The Jain and Buddhist canonical texts often refer to painting. The earliest painter, mentioned in literature, appears to be Chitralekhā, a girl-friend of the heroineUshā, mentioned in the Critical edition of the Harivamsa. The word Altrapatta is also mentioned in this connection. The same word also occurs in the Pali texts,

which also refer to <u>Cittakara</u>. Painting is mentioned both in Vatsyayana's list of 64 Arts²¹⁸ and the Jain canonical list of 72 Arts. 219

In the canonical <u>Navadhammakahao</u> there is a description of a picture-gallary (<u>cittasabhā</u>), which was situated at Rajagrha. There is little doubt therefore that by the time this canonical text was complied, painting became a widely known art in India. The <u>Faumacariyam</u> of Vimala not only mentions <u>cittavara</u> (<u>citrakāra</u>), but also represents the lady Kaikeyī as an expert in this art. 222 Elsewhere in the same text there are references to clothpainting and also landscape-painting. 223

The 7th-century text the Nisitha Curni 224
refers to erotic paintings on the walls depicting the various objects relating to marriage. Bana's evidence proves that before Rajyasri's marriage, painters painted auspicious Scenes. Haribhadra's Samaralccakaha 226 has several references to painters and citrapata (or patta). The Adipurana of Jinasena I refers to goshthi in connection with painting. However, the work that gives a most detailed description of painting, of those days, is the Kuvalavamala of Udyotana. The relegant references prove that painting was considered a very serious subject of study and even the prince Kuvalavacandra had to learn it. 228 A vivid description

of two painted scrolls (<u>Citrapata</u>) is given in this text.

One of them illustrates the Jain conception of <u>Samsaracakra</u> and other <u>bhavantaras</u>. In the <u>Samsaracakra</u> was painted various events of human life including marriage, hunting, robbery, agricultural, operations, festivities connected with the birth of the child, games, funeral scenes, royal court etc. The second scroll had the detailed painting depicting the great city of Campa with its people, houses, market-places, etc.

reference to painting 230 It has been pointed out that the work cittayara-dasao (the son of citrakara) for a painter 231 is only to be found in the Kuvalayamala. The word cittaputtaliya mentioned in this text and its Sanskrit equivalent citraputrika is to be found in the Kathasaritsagara of Somadeva. It means a female portrait and the work also 234 occurs in the Harshacarita, as noted by P.S. Jain.

Dhanapala's Tilakamanjari also mentions it.

Somadeva in his Yasastilakacampu has given a brilliant description of wall-painting of a Jain temple of Ujjayani which had paintings of Bahubali, Pradyumna (symbol of Beauty and the son of Krshna), Suparsva (The 7th Tirthankara) and the motifs connected with before 16 dreams, the birth of the Tirthankaras.

Even in the earliest canonical texts of

the Jains, there are references to shrines and icons of the Jain Tirthankaras, which prove that, Jina temples with idols, existed during the period of the composition of the canonical texts. The Rayapaseneiva mentions Jinapadima and elsewhere in the same text, there are direct references to icons of Rshabha and Vardhamana. The Bhagavati has the expression Jinaghara (Sanskrit Jinagrha) which obviously means Jain temple. It is also well-known that Kharavela's famous epigraph directly mentions a Jina icon, which was forcibly taken from Kalinga by a Nanda king who surely belonged to the 4th century B.C. It is therefore, not surprising to find references to Jina icons in a canonical text. Elsewhere in another canonical text, namely the Antagadadasao, there is a description of a wooden sculpture of Yaksha Moggarapani. The same text also mentions an icons of Harinegamesi (Karttikeya) which was regularly worshipped.

There is little doubt that wooden sculptures were more popular than stone sculptures in the pre-christian period and it is, therefore, not surprising that those sculptures have not survived to the present day. The Baumacariyam, which is probably a pre-Gupta work, mentions sculptures of gold, stone, wood and even gems. Several types of Jina icons, according to this work, adorned the Jain temples of Ramagiri. We have also references to phalaas (Sanskrit) phalaka or slab) and Simhasana (Lion-seat)

etc. According to another passage, of this work, Ravana
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himself always carried a Jina-idol with him. According to KR

\(248
Candra , it was obviously a miniature icon. \)

The important 7th-century Jain text, the Misitha Curni mentions three types of images namely those of birds and beasts, of human being and lastly of deities. Sculptors of fish, tortoise, crocodiles etc., have been mentioned in connection with Rajyasri's marriage in another 7th-century text, namely the famous <u>Harshacarita</u>. The Nisitha Curni also referes to the life-size statues of enemy kings, modelled in clay, which were usually shot down by the king, an act supposed to bring the downfall of the enemy. Elsewhere in the same text, we have a description of the life-size statue of a Jain work called Varattaga, with the broom and mouth covering, the usual paraphernalia of the The 7th-century Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang, it Jain monks. is interesting to note, refers to the statue of the great grammarian Panini, which he saw at Salatura, the birth-place of that saint. Bhasa's great play Pratima also refers to statues of (being, which were made of stone.

So far as the sculptures of deities are concerned, the <u>Nisitha Curni</u> mentions both the icons of popular Hindu gods and the Jain Tirthankaras. In one place 25.5 it refers to the golden image of the first Tirthankaras. Adinatha and in another place to an icon of Lord Mahavira.

The <u>Jivanta-pratima</u> (the image of the living deity) of Kosala (apparently of Ayodhya) has been mentioned in another passage 257 258 of this text. The earlier <u>Vasudevahindi</u> distinctly refers to Jiyantasvamin of Ujjayini. The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> also refers to idols of gods like Brahmana, Vishnu and Rudra. We have already seen that an icon of Harinegamesi (Karttikeya) has been mentioned in a particular canonical text.

The same <u>Nisitha Curni</u> also tells us that icons were made of clay, wood, ivory and also stone. Icons carved out of stone were considered best. Another 7th-century Chinese 261 pilgrim, namely I-tsing, mentions icons of gold, silver, copper, iron, clay, stones etc., which were popular in India.

be obtained from the <u>Kuvalavamala</u>. It mentions Jina icons 262
made of different type of gems and stones. Elsewhere we are told about the great images (<u>mahāpadimā</u>) of Rshabhadeva, made 263
ofstone. We are also told of <u>Salabhanijikā</u> sculptures including Lakshmi icons in <u>Salabhanijikā</u> pose. As observed 265
by V. S. Agrawala, the word <u>Salabhanijikā</u> has a long history and the commentator of the <u>Kamasutra</u> has elaborately 267
described this style. The poet Asvaghosha in his <u>Buddhacarita</u> refer to <u>torana-smalabhanijikā</u>, the actual specimens of which 268
have been found at Bharhut, Sanchi and Mathurā. Like the 269
Kavalavamala, the <u>Harshacarita</u> also has described Lakshmi in the <u>Salabhanijikā</u> pose. Regarding the fashioning of

different types of icons, we have, however, much more 270 informative passages in the works like the Brhatsamhita, 270 Atsya and the Agni Puranas. Al-Biruni (1030 A.D.), also has referred to the fashioning of icons.

The art of designing buildings was known even in the Vedic period. Spphisticated buildings are mentioned in both the epics. Almost all the terms connected with various types of structures found in the epico-buranic literature and also the canonical texts of both the Buddhist and the Jains. The words like grha, sadana, harmya etc., go far to prove that the science of architecture was in a considerably developed stage in the earliest period of Indian history. Excavations at Harappan sites also show that well-to-do Indian from the earliest times, lived comfortably in well-constructed houses. So far as the temples are concerned, we have the two terms devakula and avatana occuring in the earliest canonical 27.5 276 277 texts of the King and the Buddhist. In the Sabhabaryan of the Mahabharata we have a beautiful description regarding the architectural beauty of the sabha of Yudhishthira, built by the great architect Maya. We have also the description of the beautiful buildings (prasada) of Avodhya.

Details regarding architecture are also to 279 be found in Kalidasa's works and also the Brhatsamhita of Varahamihira. The Jain canonical texts contain a lot of informations on architecture. An architect (vaddhai) according to the 7th Upanga text the Jambudvipaprajnapati

is one of the fourteen jewels. The Rayapaseniya gives a great number of important architectural terms, attention to which have been drawn by J. C. Jain. The important words, in connection with architecture, mentioned in this text, are the following :- rampart (pagara), cornices (kavisisaga), foundation (paitthana), pillars(khambha), thresholds (eluya), bolts (indakila), door-posts (ceda), lintels (uttaranga), small door-bolts (sui), joints (sardhi), figures of salabhanjikas etc. etc. Both this text and the Navadhammakahao mention theatre hall (picchagharamandaya) Such halls were furnished with huge altars (v<u>edikā</u>), arches (torana). In the Navadhammakahao we have a good description of the sleeping-chamber of the queen with court-yard, pillars, statues, circular stairs etc. The inside was decorated with cittakamma and the floor was richly studded with gems and jewels.

The well-known Angavijia containes a lot of architectural terms, some of which are the following-gabbhagiha (sleeping-room), abbhantarasiha (inner apartment), bhattagiha (dining-room), vaccha (levatory), fakikatorana (thatched torana), valabhi (pinnacle of the house), himagiha (cold room), and several types of rooms meant for different purposes. With this we may add, Krodhagara, mentioned in the Ramayana 857

The Jain works of our period also throw a flood of light on the architecture of those days. The Varangacarita 288 which has been assigned to the 7th century A. D., by A.N. Upadhye,

contains a beautiful description of a town, with tadaga, dirghika, hrada, udvana, parikha, gopura, grhavasi, (rows of buildings), sabha, prapa, devagrha, asrama, squares (Gatushkacatvaram) etc.

The Nisitha Curni, another 7th century text, mentions both types of structures, namely, religious and secular. The religious structures were cetiva, thubha, lena, thambha, devakula, devayatara, pratimagrha etc. It has further been claimed that stupas or thuvas are the earliest form of Jain architecture and even in the inscriptions of Mathura we have references to it. The devanirmita-stupa of Mathura, which has repeatedly been mentioned in literature is actually referred to in a 2nd-century epigraph of that place. It should further be remembered that some architectural terms like pasada, torana, devakula, stambha etc., also occurs in Kushana Muthura epigraphs. The aavatana of Arhats (meaning Jain temple) is carefully distinguished deva temple (devakula) in a Mathura Kushana inscription . Lena has been described in the Nisitha Curni as a devakula built upon the relics of saints. According to the same text the stambhas (thambhas) were built, commemorate some sacred events and were constructed out of stone or wood (sela or <u>Kattha).</u>

Almost all the well-known terms connected with secular architecture like Wijana, and arama, kuva, vavi, hamma (harmya) pariha, (parpkha) pagara, (rampart), gopura (gate-house)

caussala, amndapa-sthana etc., occur in this text and also as we have seen in the earlier canonical texts of the Jains.

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From the evidence of the Greek and Roamn writers, it becomes clear, that buildings in early times in India, were made of both bricks and wood and in a Buddhist Jataka, we have an vivid account of how wooden buildings were setually fashioned by carpenters. Kautilya also throws considerable light on town-planning in ancient India.

30.5 Jinadasa gives us graphic account about the construction of a dooden palace. A particular area was first selected and then ditches (pariha) and ramparts (pagara) were constructed with only one main entrance. The govura or the gate-house gave entrance to the royal palace. It should be remembered that the word gopura occurs even in the 1sta century B. C. epigraph of Kharavela, and therefore it should not be regarded as a word of later times. Then we are told that strong iron-bolts, were fitted for the safeguarding the door. The palace was decorated with turrets (nijjuba) and latticed windows (gavakkha) and the floors were studded with precious stones. The same work refers to a palace, based on the pillar (ega-khambha-pasaya) . A similar palace, standing on one pillar is mentioned in the Paumacariyam of The Nisitha Curni it is interesting to note, mentions the construction of a palace, made of ivory at Damtapura (Kalinga).

It appears from the Jain texts that most of the

palaces, built for kings, were of <u>sarvatobhadra</u> type. Such type of palaces, are mentioned both in the <u>Adipurana</u> of Jinasena I and the <u>Samaraiccakana</u> of Haribhadra. However, it should be remembered, such palaces could only be built by very affluent people and especially kings.

Another very detailed account about royal palaces can be obtained from the Harshacarita, a 7th-century text, 314, which had three main divisions, namely skandhavara, rajakula and dihavala-grha. The first division housed the army and the guests, the second contained the public audience hall and the third, namely the dhavala-grha is actually identical with royal antahpura, mentioned in the Ramayana, which also refers to three main divisions of the royal palace. The public audience-hall, which was situated in the rajakula or the middle division was also known as asthana-mandapa, an expression also found in the Kadambari of Bana, the 317 Adipurana of Jinasena I (where the actual expression is 318 asthanika), the Samaraiccakaha and the Yasastilakacampu.

Regarding dhavala-grha, it should be pointed out that the expression is used in the Kuvalayamala, not only in connection with the royal palace, but also the buildings of generals, traders etc. In one place of this 320 work, we are told that the prince of Tosala saw the daughter of merchant standing near the latticed window of the dhavala-grha of her father. In another place of that work

the dhavela-grha of a senapati has been described as high as meru and as wide as the prthivi. The Kuvalavamala 322 also refers to Kumari-antahoura, which was certainly different from the antahoura of the queens. In that text, 323 Udyotana also refers to the person-in-charge of the Kumari-antahoura, who was usually an old and ugly person. In the Kadambari 324 also we have reference to Kumaripuraprasada and Kanva-antahoura. There was a lady called dhatri in this apartment, who looked after the princess. Kalidasa also in his Raghuvamsa 326 has mentioned this lady-officer, who was usually called dhatri.

The 10th-century Jain novel Yasastilakacampu also gives us a good idea about a few types of palaces like tribhuvanatilaka, Sarasvativilasakamalakara, Lakshmivilasa etc. The tribhuvanatilaka palace like the Sarvatobhadra 327 palace had golden stambhas and high toranas. It had numerous separate buildings including temples, dedicated to deities like like Candra, Hari, Nagesa, Agni, Surya, Sambhu etc. A similar description of an extensive palace will be found in the Mrcchakatika, 328 a much earlier work, in which we have a picturesque account of the house of Vasantasena at Ujjayini.

According to Bhoja's Samaranganasutradhara, a Sudra should not have more than a $3\frac{1}{2}$ storied house, a Vaisya, not more than $5\frac{1}{2}$, a Kshatriya $6\frac{1}{2}$, a Brahmana $7\frac{1}{2}$

and kings 81. However, from the description of Vasantasena's residence in Mrcchakatika, it is apparent, that even other citizens could own large buildings. Even the Brahmana Bana (before his meeting with Harsha), resided apparently in a big mansion, 33° called 'The Pinnacle of Delight'. The Nagarakas of the Kamasutra 33° also lived in spacious houses which had two principal divisions.

Section (v) : <u>Dress</u>

Even from the Vedic times, the Indians used to wear three garments, an undergarment, a garment and an overgarment. The overgarment or Adhivasa was a type of mantle. In the classical Sanskrit literature we have re references two pieces of cloth (dukula-vugmam), namely the Wttariya and the lower garment. There is little doubt that Wittariva of later times, is the same as adhivasa of the earlier times. We are told by Kalidasa 333 that rich people used to wear scarfs made by wearing gems into their texture (ratnagrathitottariyam). That the Indians from the Mauryan times wore two types of garments, is also proved by the evidence of Arrian, who writes, that the Indians wear an undergarment of conton which reaches below the knee, halfway down to the and also an upper garment, which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head. This description of Arrian is also supported

by the evidence of Panini, who mentions the undergarment (Wpasamvyaha) and upper-garment (Wttariva). The commentator Katyayana explains Upasamvyana, as V.S.Agarwala notes, 335 as sateka which stands for modern dhoti and saris. Patanjali, 336 while commenting on Panini's sutra-v/1/21 says that in his days, a Sataka used to cost a Karshavana only. This, we believe, is a piece of vital information. So far as the word Wpasamvyana is concerned, we will afterwards see that it is mentioned in the Jain and some other non-Jain texts of our period. Sataka or sati is mentioned in the epics, 337 the former was worn by men, and Sati generally by women. In the Ramavana 358 the Brahmana Trijata has been represented as wearing tattered Sati. Therefore it appears, that Sataka to Sati was a popular garment for the lower part of the body, in the epic period.

Yuan-Chwang, 339 writing in the first half of the 7th century A.D., makes the following remark regarding the dress of Indian men and women of his times, "The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and upto the armpits and leave the right shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders and falls flown loose." That pilgrim, however, adds, that in North India (probably meaning Punjab, Western U.P., and other adjoining regions), where the climate is very cold, closely-fitting jackets are worn, somewhat like those of the Tartars.

The Jain texts, both canonical and non-canonical, are exceedingly infrmative, so far as the textile-materials are The Acaranga, one of the oldest Jain canonical texts, was noted by J. C. Jain, shows acquaintance with almost all types of textile materials, including extremely expensive cloths like linen (khomiva), dugulla (fibres of the dugulla plant) amsuva, cinamsuva (Chinese silk) kambala cloths from the skin of black, yellow and blue deers etc. A very useful list of textile materials will be found in that extremely interesting work, namely the Angavijja, compiled in the early centuries of the Christian era. This list of the Angavijia mentions four types of basic textile materials, namely linen (khoma), dukulla, Chinese silk (cinapatta) and cotton (kappasika). The textile from metals are lohajalika (chain-armour), suvanapatta (gold brocade) and tinsel-printing (suvanna-khasita). For the turban, we have the words jalaka, pattika, vatthana (Sanskrit veshtana) and sisekarana. lower garment is called antarijia (Sanskrit antariya) and the upper garment is called uttarijja (Sanskrit uttariya). work further gives the correct information that antariya was wrapped below the navel and uttariya over it. It further mentions pacchattharna (carpet), vitanaka (ceiling canopy) and parisaranaka (floor-cover). It is interesting to note that sataka or sati, known to the epics and Patanjali, is not mentioned by the writer of the Angavijia, who probably was a resident of a region, where antariva served the

purpose of sati.

The highly interest text the Nisitha Curni given us plenty of information regarding types of dress and textile materials. It divides correctly the basic textile materials in three broad groups, cotton clothes (kappasiya), silken clothes (kosejjaka) and woollen clothes (unniva). Like the Acaranga, 343 it also permits the monks to wear five types of cheap clothes. They are jamgiya, bhamgiya, saniya, pottage and tiridapatta. In the original Accaranga we have tulakada instead of tiridapatta. has been explained in this text, as the cloth, manufactured from the hair or body of the moving beings, 344 and its five varieties are - unniva, uttiva, mivalomiva, kutava and Unniva was manufactured from sheep's wool, uttiva from camel's hair, miyalomiya from deer's hair, kutava has been explained as varakka and kitta or kittma has been explained as cloth manufactured from the residue of the same material.

Bhangiva was the cloth manufactured from the fibres of the linseed plant. It has been claimed that it is the same as bhagela, still produced in the Kumaon district of U.P. Saniva hemp (Sanskrit Sana). Pottaga is cotton cloth and the commentator of the Brhatkalpa-bhashya also identifies potaka with karpasikam. Tiridapatta was a

cloth manufactured from the bark of the <u>tirida</u> tree (Simplocos 347 348

Racemosa). Monier Williams, however, explains it as a kind of head-dress.

The Nisitha Curni also includes a large variety of expensive clothes. First it mentions aina, which means deer-skin or ajina, which is mentioned, for the first time, in the Vedic texts 350 and in all subsequent literary texts. As believers in Ahimsa, it is quite natural, that deer-skin will not be allowed to be used to the Jains. Then is mentioned sahina and sahina-kallana, 351 both of which mean very fine (sukshma) cloth. Then are mentioned ava; (goat's hair), kava (blue-cotton) and khomma. or kahauma, according to the Amarakosha, 2 is identical with dukula, which means a very fine raiment made of the inner The Arthasastra of Kautilya, bark of the plant dukula. however, mentions kshauma and dukula separately, and there is little doubt that they are not same. 35.4 The Nisitha Curni 355 clearly states that dugulla (Sanskrit dukula) is a cloth manufactured, from the bark of the dugulla tree. The commentator of the Acaranga explains it as the cloth made from the cotton, grown in the Gauda country. It should have beautiful cotton, grown in Bengal, has been praised by as early an authority as the author of the Arthasastra, 357 who refers to the dukula of Vanga country, as of special value. The author of the Periplus (1st century A.D.) also has a special word of

praise for the cotton grown in the region called Gange, 358 which is lower Bengal and adjoining regions. Bana in his Harshacarita 359 represents the vacaka, the Brahmana Sudrshti as clothed in the dukula of the Paundra country. This shows that, for ever a thousand years, the cotton fabric of Bengal was prized all over India. The Nisitha Curni also mentions the expensive textile of Malaya, Cina etc. The Chinese silk is also mentioned in the commentary of the Brhatkalpa 364 and its earliest reference is to be found in the Arthasastra 362 of Kautilya. As we have already seen, the Chinese silk is mentioned in the Acaranga and from Kautilya's reference, it appears that by Kauseya, in his time, Jonly the silk of China (Cinabhumija) was meant. But there is reason to believe that even before the contact with China, a separate silk, called Kauseya was very popular in India. It is proved by the reference to Kauseya in Panini, 363 and other works. The oldest Pali 364 works also mention koseyya. Even Yuan Chwang knows that the separate existence of Indian silk called Kauseya, manufactured from wilk salk-worm.

Various other kinds of textile materials

like <u>kambala</u> (blanket), <u>desaraga</u> (coloured cloth) <u>uttha</u>

(cat-skin) etc., have been mentioned. It also refers

to the price of various clothes. According to it, 567 the

cheapest clothes were priced at 13 <u>ruvagas</u> (<u>rupakas</u>) and

costliest could fetch a price as much as a million <u>rūvagas</u> (current in Pataliputra), which is an obvious exaggeration. We are, however, not told about the actual quantity of a particular cloth, which could be brought by those prices. In any case, it appears from this work, that in the 7th century textile materials were rather expensive.

The Samaraiccakaha 368 of Haribhadra. written probably in the 2nd quarter of the 8th century, (he certainly flourished before Udyotana, who wrote his Kuvalayamala in Saka 700), also gives a lot of information on textile materials like <u>dukula, amsuka, cinamsuka,</u> ardha-cinamsuka, devadushya, kshauma, patavasa, valkala, kambala etc. We have already commented on dukula. Several types of <u>amsukas</u> are knownto <u>Kalidasa</u> like <u>sitamsuka</u>, arunamsuka, raktamsuka and nilamsuka. Amsuka was a kind of soft silk and the Acaranga mentions amsuka and cinamsuka separately. The Adiourana of Jinasena, it is interesting to note, mentions white, red and blue amsukas. In the Harshacarita we have a reference to amsukoshnishapattika, which means a fine silken cloth, tied round the forehead. However, cinamsuka was superior to other kinds of amsukas. By ardhacinamsuka, it appears, that Haribhadra had in mind a type of mixed silk-cloth and it was certainly inferior in comparison to cinamsuka. The devadushya cloth mentioned in the <u>Samaraiccakaha</u>, 373 is referred to in the Jain canonical

texts and also the Adipurana. It was meant to be worn

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by the rich people. The <u>Dussayugam</u>, as noted by J.C. Jain,

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is referred to in the <u>Majjhima Nikaya</u>. V.S. Agrawala is of
the opinion that <u>devadushya</u> was a kind of costly cloth,

placed usually over <u>stupas</u>. The <u>Kalpasutra</u> represents Lord

Mahavira as wearing this particular cloth.

throws a flood of light on the textiles of the 8th century, 380 and as noted by P.S. Jain, no less than forty-nine types of clothes have been mentioned in this text. A perusal of this would show that the list includes not only the dress, used by the rich people, but also those of the common people, like civara (188.18) malina-kucela (155.14), cira (41.18,47.30 etc. etc.); rallaka, mentioned in this work, is actually a type of blanketyas we learn from the Amarakosha. It is the same as Ha-la-li of Yuan Chwang, which has been explained by him, as a texture, from the wool of wild animal. That pilgrim further says that this particular thing was prized as a material for clothing. As we will see presently, it is also mentioned by Somadeva.

Another interesting name in the 384 Kuvalayamala is netra-yugala. We are told by the author that in the city of Vinita (Ayodhya) there was a separate 385 shop for this cloth. We are further told by Udyotana that netrapata was imported to the market of Surparaka by the

merchants of that famous city-port. It is also mentioned by 387 Bana in his Harsacarita and Kalidasa in his Raghutamsa.

Mallinatha, the commentator of this work, explains it as amsuka (silk). Even in the works, of late medieval period, the word metra (meaning silk-cloth) has survived.

The Yasastilakacampu of Somadeva contains of lot of informations on textile-materials. We have the terms like <u>netra, cina, citra-pati, patola, mancuka, varabana,</u> colaka, candataka, hamsatulika etc. The first two terms have already been explained. The word cina stands for cina-pata or Chinese silk; citra-pati has been explained by the commentator, of this work, as a fine cloth with beautiful design. The knows <u>citra-pata</u>. Agrawala explains it as a Harshacarita type of Assamese silk. Patola was probably a kind of Gujarati Sari . Kancuka a sort of bodice and is frequently mentioned in the Sanskrit literature; varabana , mentioned in this texts , according to both the Amarakosha and the commentator of the Yasastilaka, is the same as kancuka. But it appears to be a type of defensive coat, as mentioned in the Harsacarita. Colaka was also kind of defensive coat, which according to the Yasastilakacampu, was worn by the Gauda soldiers. Candataka according to the Amarakosha, is a kind of loin-cloth, used by both men and women. It is mentioned, as noticed by Motichandra, in the Satapatha Brahmana and it was according to Sayana, made of silk. But in the Yasastilakacampu passage, we are told, 40.6 that it was made of skin. Hamsatulika was a kind of bedsheet.

The above discussion, though brief, abundantly proves that the Jain literature of our period, is a great store-house of information, so far as dress and textile materials are concerned.

Section: - (vi): Ornaments.

Indians were fond of ornaments even from the early Vedic period. Several types of ornaments have been mentioned in the various Vedic texts including Opasa, (hair-408 dressing), Karnasobhana (ear-ring), Kumba (head-ornament), 400 411 412 Kurira (head-ornament) Khadi (anklet), Tirita (diadem), Nishka 413 414 415 (necklace), Nyocani, Pravarta (round-ornament), Prakasa, 416 417 418 419 420 Pravepa, Phana Mani (jewel) Mana, Rukma (dist of gold), 420 Vimukta (pearl), Vrsakhadi (wearing strong rings), Sankha (pearl-shell), Salali (porcupine quill), Stüka (top-knot), 426 427 Sthagara, Sraj (garland) 247

Most of the above mentioned ornaments are also mentioned in the later literature. That Indians were fond of ornaments and finery is ever mentioned by classical writers.

Megasthenes speaks of the love of Indians for finery and ornaments. The epics also often fefer to various type of ornaments and in the Pagmacariyam of Vimala refers to a number of ornaments like Sirabhusanas (head-ornament) which may be identical with Kumba, or Kurira of the Vedic texts. Mukuta

(crown), Kinta (diadem) which is the same as Tirita of Vedic texts. It also refers to Cudamani which was also special type of head-ornament. Elsewhere this Cudamani si mentioned as Sikhāmani. For the decoration of the ears we have terms like Kanya-kundala , which is the same as Karyakundala as those ear-rings studded with games were called Manikundala, Vedic term of ear-ring, as we have already seen, was Karnasobhanas. We have the popular word for necklace viz. Hara, which may be the same as niska i... golden nacklace, mentioned in the Vedic texts. There is also reference to <u>Kanthasutra</u> in the <u>Paumacariyam</u>. For arm-ornament we get the term Keura and also Hemakankana which probably signifies the modern bracelet. We have also terms like Anguleyaya and Mudra. Some other ornaments are also referred to in this text. The Paumacariyam further informs us that ornaments were equally popular amongst both the sexes, & ~ testimony supported by the evidence of contemporary sculpters.

The <u>Brhatsamhita</u> of Varahamihira, written in the early 6th century A.D., gives us a very detailed list of ornaments most of which are mentioned in the Jain texts of our period (600-1000 A.D.). The 7th-century Jain commentary viz., the <u>Nisîtha Curni</u> mentions various types of ornaments most of which are also found in the <u>Brhatsamhita</u> and Bana's works. We have for example Kirita and Mukuta for head-ornaments which as we have already noted, has been also mentioned by Vimala. According to Yuan Chwang, only the kings and nobles in his time used to

wear head-ornaments and various other types of ornaments like rings, bracelets and necklaces. In this connection we may refer to the evidence of the Kadamwari where we find Kirita and Cudamani are described as the head-ornaments of the kings coming to meet Tarapida. The Nisitha Curni describes patta as a golden ornament measuring four fingers. The Brhatsamhita it is interesting to note, mentions five kinds of patta meant for the king, queen, crown-prince, army-chief and for one upon whom the king is pleased to confer this privilege. 434 To denote ear-rings the Nisitha Curni the terms kundala and karnabharana and in the Kadambari we have the term karnapura. For the necklace we get several words in the Nisitha Curni like hara, ardhahara, ekavali, muktavali, ratnavali, kanakavali, etc. The hara has been described as a eighteen-stringed pearl necklace. 437 As noted by M. Sen Malati in the Harsacarita is represented as wearing hara, 438 which according to V.S. Agrawala, was actually a necklace of nice big pearls. The ardhahara according to the Nisitha Gurni was made of nine strings and ekavali is a necklace having asingle chain with multicoloured pearls. It is also mentioned in the Brhatsamhita and the earlier works Amarakosa and the Arthasastra. muktavali was evidently a necklace of pearls; kanakavali of gold and ratnavali of precious stones.

Among other types of ornaments referred to

in the Nisitha Curni we may mention armlets (tudiva), bracelets (kadaga or balaya) the finger-rings (mudra), anklets (nupura) and some other types of ornaments have been mentioned in the text. Even flowers were widely used as ornaments.

Even the Vedic people also had a weakness for decorating their person with garlands.

As noted by Saletore, several Gupta and post-Gupta epigraphs refer to ornaments work by royal personalities and the ladies. Most of the names of the ornaments, as we have already noted, occur not only in the Jain works but also in the earlier Vedic and epic tests.

Names like <u>cudamani</u>, <u>Hara</u>, <u>kaustubha</u> (breast-jewel), etc., are mentioned in the Gupta epigraphs. Two Valabhi inscriptions of a somewhat later date mention <u>mauktika-alamkara</u> (pearl ornaments) and kataka (bracelet on the forearm). The same author has moted the fact that most of the ornaments mentioned in literature have been depicted in the paintings of Ajanta including those of the head, breast, neck, and ears etc;

A very useful list of ornaments of the 8th 44.5 century will be found in the kuvalavamala of Udyotanasuri. We are reproducing below the entire list: i) attha-kanthavabharana, (2.22) ii) avataksa (1.14), iii) ratnakanthika (1.11), iv) kataka (14.29), v) katisutra (25.6), vi) manikka-kataka (30.3), vii) lalamana-kataka (187-28), viii) kanci

(234.10), ix) kanirakanci (254.14) x) karnaphula (57.16, 160.10), xi) kinkini (255.21), xii) kundala (56.21, 93.9), xiii) manikundala (186.33, 194.10), xiv) ratnakundala (11.16), xv) jalamala (255.21) xvi) 146610, xvii) damilla (254.14), xviii) nupura (14.29, 166.28), xix) maninupura (157.30, 234.8) xx) patala (113.10), xxi) mahamukuta (9.1, 168.10), xxii) mala (14.8), xxiii) muktavali (182.24),xxiv) muktahara (6.23,232.9) xxv) mekhala (50.17, 157.30, 255.21), xxvi) manimekhala (255.21), xxvii) ratnavali (83.24), xxviii) ratnalamkara (160, 26), xxix) rasana (83, 14, 232, 10), xxx) manirasana (25.5, 85.9), xxxi) runnamala (11.22)) xxxii) vanamala (194.10, 246.21), xxiii) valaya (2.22, 4.29, 7.21), xxxiv) manivalaya (1.2), xxxv) vaijavantimala (194.10), xxxvi) svarnajatila-maharatna (8.24), xxxvii) suverna (7.28), xxxviii) hara (24.21, 83.14, 161.25), xxxix) haravali (254.15), xxxx) givasutta (11.16), xxxxi) cakkala (83.9), xxxii) calanapatta (212.12), xxxiii) manikkapatta (84.14), xxxiv) valakkhalayi (83.4), xxxxv) (daruna (25.14-15).

As we have already seen the majority of the names of this list are other wise known. Regarding the expression atthitha there is some controverse. According to Prof. A. N. Bpadhaje it means a silver necklace. It is more probable that it was a particular type of very

heavy silver necklace in which there were eight separate silver coins. Kanci mentioned here was work by women in the west and is also otherwise mentioned in other literary text. Rasana was also a type of kanci and according to the Amarakosa kanci, mekhala and rasana meant the same ornament. Dama according to the kuvalayamala was an ornament of the neck. The actual expression in the relevant passage is matatadama. In the Adipurana we have the words mekhaladama and kancidama. The Samaraiccakaha uses the expression manimekhala and ornament of the waist which as noted by Yadav has been also mentioned in works like the Bhagavati, Adipurana and the Yasastilaka.

also occur in the Samaraiccakaha which as we know, is a work of practically the same period. The Yasastilakacampu give also and exhaustive list of ornaments work on different parts of the body. For the head-ornement Somadeva uses the expression kirita, mauli, patta, and mukuta; for ear-rings we get terms such as avatamsa, karnapura, karnika, karnotpala, kundala etc. It appears from the Yasastilaka 453 that avatamsa was generally fashioned from leaves and flowers. We have already come across the word karnapura and it appears 454 from the Yasastilakacampu that karnika was work by men and specially soldiers. To denote a necklace we have words like ekavali, kanthika, mauktikadama, hara and harayasti.

In this connection the <u>Harshacarita</u> tell us a story regarding ekavali which was obtained by Nagarjuna from the snake-king Vasuki. Nagarjuna afterwards gave it to his friends the Satavahana king which later came into the possession of the Buddhist philosopher Divakaramitra which the latter presented to the great Harsha.

An interesting name in the Yasastilaka is urmika which means ring. This name also occurs in Bana's 457 Harshacarita. Another interesting ornament mentioned by Somadeva is hinjiraka which was worn on the feet of beaufitul women and according to the commentator it was the same as 459 nupura. Another similar ornament in Yasastilaka is tulakati which is also mentioned in Bana's Harshacarita. It was almost same as nupura. Somadeva also refers to another ornament called hamsaka which almost looked like nupura.

A character of Yasastilaka has been represented as wearing hamsaka made of brass (kamsahamsaka).

The above discussion of the various types of ornaments show that the Indians belonging to both the sexes of the early medieval period were quite fond of wearing various types of alamkaras made of almost all the available metals. However, among the men only persons belonging to the aristocratic class were particularly fond of ornaments. This is apparent from the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan 463 the Chwang, who remarks that Ksatriyas and Brahmanas of his time

were clean-handed and unostentatious. He, however, adds that the aristocratic people of his time were ornaments of almost every kind including rings, bracelets and necklaces. He further says that wealthy mercantile people (apparently the Vaisyas) were only bracelets. Regarding the ornaments of women, however, Yuan Chwang is completely silent.

Section (vii) : Cosmetics

The use of commetics was known to Indians from very early times and even in the Vedic period both men and women used cosmetics like anjana (collyrium), sthagara, (a fragrant powder) and also sandal paste. However, it was only as late as the Gupta period, that we find widespread use of all kinds of cosmetics and perfumery. It is apparent from a study of the literary works of the Gupta period that wealthy persons of both sexes profusely used cosmetic articles. Various types of perfumed oils, fragrant powders, scents and other aceessories have been mentioned in the works of the Gupta period. We are told that at the time of bath, the hair was perfumed with the frankinscense of the Wataguru, lodhra - dust and dhupa and the limbs were scented with musk. Regarding the hair-bil, we learn from the Brhatsamhita that a particular type of oil emitting the scent of the

Campaka flower was artificially produced from a combination The Agnipurana also refers to of different plants. 46,5 the preparation of a kind of perfumed oil. However, the early Indians paid more attention to the different types of powders which were applied to different parts of the body. These powders were prepared after pounding different substances. There we have references to Padmacarni (powder made from totus-leaves) candanacurna (powder made from sandal-wood) masacurna (powder from kidney-beams) and also to powders made from castor-oil plants and dry The same work vegetables in the Nisitha Curni. mentions also several types of perfumes like sandal-wood (candana), musk (migada), camphor (Kappura), aloe wood (aguru), saffron (Kumkuma), olibanum (turukkha). In this connexion, Bana in his <u>Kadambari</u> gives us the very interesting information that after taking his bath the prince Candrapida was taken to the perfuming room where his limbs were anointed with Candana and funigated with the fragrace of saffron camphor and musk. The Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing also writing in the 7th century, apparently refers to the Indian custom of preparing the scent or paste. According to him, the sandal-wood or aloe-wood etc., were first crushed, then mixed with water until it became muddy, and in this manner the scented paste was prepared. mouth perfumes were prepared by mixing the crushed nutmeg,

musk, camphor etc., with the juice of mango-fruit and honey. It was enriched with the scent of Parijata flower. This is also recommended in the Brhatsamhita. The Agnipurana also refers to mouth-perfumes, amnufactured by combining small cardamons, cloves, nutmeg, kankola, jatipatra etc. Almost all the works of the Gupta and post-Gupta period refer to the practice of imressing filaka on the forehead which was made either of the paste of haritala or candana. A special calss of artisans who manufactured different types of cosmetics have been mentioned in the Brhatsamhita as gandhayuktivia or gandhayuktivid arkacchika. As a matter of fact, the Brhatsamhita gives an elaborate account of various perfumes and powders.

In the Samaraiccakaha there are also copious references to various type of items used as cosmetics. We may mention here the following: - candana, kumkuma, angaraga gandhodaka, haricandana, padmaraga, alakta, tilaka, turushka, karpūra, sindūra, kasturi, tambula etc. However, not all these things were used as cosmetics. Tambula, for example, was consumed after meals, and it is mentioned in both caraka and Susruta Samhitas. The consumption of tambula has also been recommended in the Kamasutra and other texts and the Brhatsamhita declares that tambula stimulates love, adds to physical charm, perfumes the mouth, gives strength, dispels 479 phaegmatic diseases etc. In other Jain works of our period

there are references to consumption of betel leaves. The Nisitha Curni, for example, mentions several times, the practice of betel-eating. The betel leaves were usually consumed along with five spices Jaiphala (nutmeg), kakkola (cinnamon)karpura (camphor), Lavanga (cloves) and pugaphala (areca-nut). In the Harshacarita, another seventh-century text, we are told that the pustaka-vacaka (reader), Sudrsti, had heightened the glow of his lips by several applications of betel . Bana's description of Sudrshti is worth quoting in this connection, "Soon the reader Sudrshti was observed approaching, wearing a pair of silken Paundra cloth, pale as the outer corner of the peacock's eye; his sectarial lines were painted in gorocana and clay from a sacred pool blessed at the end of his bath; his hair was made sleek with oil and myrobolan, a thick bunch of flowers, kissing his short top-knot, added a touch of spruceness, the glow of his lips had been heightened by several applications of betel, and a brilliance imparted to his eyes by the use of a stick of collyrium; he had just dined and his dress was decorous and respectable" . This description by Bana is almost unique in Sanskrit literature and shows that even the men of that period were fond of beautifying their person. The Bhagavata Purana also refers to the practice of applying kumkuma , angaraga, candana etc. , on the body and even in earlier works we have similar descriptions.

The Yasastilakacampu contains several useful items connected with cosmetics. They are anjana, kajjala, aguru, alaktaka, kumkuma, karpura, candrakavala, tamaladala, dhuli, tambula, patavasa, pistataka, manahsila, mrgamada, yakshakardama (this was prepared by mixing several things like karpura, kasturi, aguru, and kankola). Other writers have also mentioned vaksakardama which was a kind of pastewhich according to the medical writers was prepared by mixing kumkuma, kasturi, karpura, candana and aguru. Somadeva also mentions harirohana and sindura.

The adorning of the hair of early Indians, from the days of the Harappan civilization, is proved by the available finds from the Indus Valley sites. In the later period also, men and women lovingly adorned their hair and Kalidasa, as observed by Saletore, often refers to coiffures of his days. The great seventh-century writer Banabhatta represents Bhandi, the maternal cousin of Harsha, as having sidelocks of curely hair at the age of eight . Even some subordinate chiefs are represented in the Harshacarita as wearing peacock-feathers on their top-knots. The custom of keeping long hair is even mentioned in the Buddhist literature where we find reference to a lambaculaka policeman. Bana's pustakavacaka. Sudrshti, also, had a bunch of flowers in his short top knot. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang also refers to various usages in connection with coiffure . A study of the different paintings of Ajanta also supports

the evidence of Kalidasa, Yuan Chwang and other writers, regarding hair-dressing in early times.

Some more information on the arrangement of hair of women has been given in the Kuvalayamala of Udyotanasuri. In this connection we come across words like dhammilla-vinyasa, which was a kind of hair-style, mentioned also not only in the Harshacarita, but even Kalidasa's Raghuvansa and Somadeva's Yasastilakacampu. According to Prof. V. S. Agrawala, the word dhamilla comes from ancient Tamil damila or tamila. In this coiffure the hair was drawn together in one big top-knot as shown in the figure of a woman in cave No. 17 at Ajanta. Prof. Agrawala further remarks that this particular style of dressing the hair was introduced from South India in the Gupta period . As already noted by us, Somadeva in his Yasastilaka mentions this type of hair-do. Another type of hair dressing mentioned in the Kuvalayamala was kesaprabhara. We are told that the Kesaprabhara of Lord Mahavira was fashioned by Indra himself. This particular hair-style was meant primarily for men, but sometimes even women also used it. It is also mentioned by Somadeva in his <u>Yasastilakacampū;</u> In this type of hair style flowers were profusely used and the hair was so arranged that it looked like a crown on the head. Some other terms mentioned in connection with hair-dressing in the Kuvalayamala are jatakalapa, cudalankara, simanta etc. The Yasastilakacampu adds a few more like venidanda, juta, kuntalakalapa etc. We

should also mention in this connection that a type of hair dye (murdhajaraga) referred to by Varahamihira in the A97 Brhatsamhita. In this connection Prof. A.M. Shastar refers to an older text called Navanitaka which mentions as many as eleven hair-dye recipes and refers to forty-six ingredients 498 employed in their preparation.

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Section (viii) : Food And Drinks.

Indians, from the earliest time, were addicted to practically all types of food. The relevant 499 references in the Vedic texts show that people in those days used to consume both the vegetarian and the non-vegetarian food. Among the vegetarian preparations, these made of milk were quite popular, for example, amiksha (clotted cards), kshira (spet milk), kshirawdana (rice cooked with milk), ghrta (ghee), dadhi (sour milk), navanita (fresh butter), payas (a type of boiled sweethed milk) etc. These milk products were also quite popular in later times and the references to them will be found in almost all important Jain and non-Jain works of our period. Food prepared from different types of vegetable also were quite popular and so also non-vegetarian 500 items.

In the two epics also we have references 501 to non-vegetarian items of food. In the Ramayana there is

a direct reference to the roasting of Rohita and other types of fish for the purpose of consumption. In the Mahabharata we find Draupadi offering Jayadratha various types of meat as breakfast (pratarasa). Such references can easily be multiplied . However, in the later period, it appears, that the vegetarian food became more popular and we have the very important evidence of Fa-hien who tells us that in Madhyadesa, the people do not touch flesh or even intoxicating drinks and even items like onions and garlic were avoided. However, from other sources we definitely know that the consumption of non-vegetarian items continued in the Gupta and post Gupta periods. Kalidasa often refers to the practice of eating of flesh and fish. It appears that Fa-hien, who was devout and othodox Buddhist, probably never visited any residence of non-Buddhists and other market-places and therefore, could not form any correct idea about the items of food of the local people. He, however, notes that the gandalas sold meat, which implied that some other people used to consume meat in the Gupta period.

In this connection we have also the very 505 valuable evidence of Yuan-Chwang, who visited India in the first half of the 7th century. According to him along with milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugar-candy, cakes and parched grain, fish, mutton, venison etc., were also taken as occasional daiaties. This proves that the non-vegetarian food, though not much popular, was consumed by the ordinary

people. That Chines e pilgrim further add, that the "flesh of oxan, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves lions, monkeys, opes etc. is forbidden and those who eat such 506,"

The evidence of Bana's Harshacarita also shows that non-vegetarian food was consumed freely by soldiers in particular. We are told that the <u>bharikas</u> (bearers of kitchen appurtenances) were carrying goats (vardhrina) tied to the tongs of pigs skim (varaha-vadhra), tangles of hanging sparrows (catakajūta), forequarters of venison (harina-catuka)., young rabbits (sisu-sasaka) etc., along with vegetarian items like saka-patra (herb-pots), bambo-shoots (vetragra) and other milk-products.

In Jain texts of both the earlier and later period also directly confirm the evidence of the above mentioned works regarding the nature of \$600 a consumed by one predecessors. The extremely interesting Misitha Gurni, written by Jinadasa, in the second half of the 7th century gives us a lot of information on the daily items of \$600 of India at that time. The following vegetables are mentioned in that text alabu (Lagernarea vulgaris) a suri (a kind of Brassica), kalaya (field pca), kovidara (Bauhinia Variegata), kusumbha (safflower) lasuna (garlic root), mulaga (radish), nimba (margosatree), nipphāva (flat beans), palamdu (onion), sana (crotalaria janka) sarisava (mustard), nīluppala (blue lotus), valumka (cucumber) etc. There is little doubt some other vegetables also were consumed in those days. The

Susrutasamhita, 509 the well-knowned medical test has given a much more elaborate list of vegetables in its section entitled sakavarga. The medical work of Caraka also has given an even more detailed list of vegetables. The Yasastilakacampū of Somadeva mentions almost all types of vegetables, referred to in the above mentioned medical texts.

That different types of meat and fish were consumed in those days is also proved by the Jain texts of both pre-Gupta and post-Gupta periods. It should, however, be remembered that the Jains themselves were addicted mostly to vegetarian food, but their authors have to refer to non-vegetarian food because other people had some passion for them. The eminent authority J. C. Jain quotes from a few Jain canonical texts to show the popularity of meat-eating in ancient India. That the Jains, themselves did not approve of meat-eating is proved by the highly interesting story, told in the Uttaradhyayana, according to which Aristangmi renounced the world when he he say a herd of cattle ready for slaughter for his ensuing marriage-festival. The uncompromising attitude of the early Jains towards non-vegetarian food is also proved by the statement of the canonical texts the Vipakasruta, according to which, the medical authority Dhanvantari had to go to hell for prescribing meat-diet.

The Paumacariyam of Vimala, one of the earliest non-canonical texts of the Jains, represents

Mlecchas and other lower classes as consuming the flesh of meat. However, according to it the eaters of meat go to 516 hell. The same work refers to the eating of fish, deer and birds. The eating of bull by the Mlecchas

(Non-Aryans) is mentioned in one place of the Paumacariyam.

It appears that from the early Christian period, the pure Aryans avoided the eating of the flesh of bull, buffalo and other big animals and this is also confirmed by the evidence of Yuan-Chwang, quoted above.

The Nisitha Curni like the author of the Paumacariyam, represents the people belonging to the lower strata of society as consuming meat. That the Brahmanas used to consume meat during Yainas is also proved by the relevant passages of this text. Elsewhere as M. Sen notes, the <u>Nisitha Curni</u> refers to the meat-eating by other types of people during feasts and wine-drinking. The meat was available in the markets and the hunters, according to the same texts, were employed people to 52% Various preparations for boiled as well bring meat. as fried meat and meat-soup were known. In some feasts, as we learn from the Nisitha Curni, meat and fish served first and then rice and other things (odanadi) were served. The soup of the meat was supposed the to be highly beneficial for health. 524

The 8th century work the Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra supports the testimony of the Nisitha Curni regarding the consumption of non-vegetarian diet. It refers 525 to the eating fish, pig, goat, sasaka etc. We have already seen the according to the Harshacarita, the soldiers used to consume the flesh of goat, rabbit and deer. The Samaraiccakaha also refers to the cooking of meat with different spices.

The orthodox Digambara writer

Somadeva, while condemning the eating of non-vegetarian

food, records that the Kapalikas, Kaulas and other types of

Saivas and Saktas used to consume the flesh of various animals.

The Kshatriyas had a special love for meat and we are told

that Amortamati herself was fond of flesh. It appears from

this text also that the Brahmanas consumed food during

528

religious festivals.

Along with vegetables and non-vegetables, fruits also were extensively taken as food from early times. The popularity of mango has been repeatedly mentioned in various Jain texts; but we have, at the same time, the warning in the Nisitha Curni that excessive consumption of this fruit causes the disease called cholera (vigutikā).

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang also records the popularity of mango in India in his time (7th century).

He also records that tamarind (amba), madhuka, (Bassia

Latifolia), Badana (yujabe), kapittha (wood-apple), amaleka (myrobolan), tinduka (diospyros), narikela, jackfruit etc., were quite popular. As a matter of fact, as that pilgrim notes, it was impossible for him to enumerate all kinds of fruits of India and the evidence of the two great medical texts, namely Susruta and Cerakasamhitas also fully supports the testimony of that Chinese traveller. The Paumacariyam refers to fruits like mango, pomegranate, rose-apple, wood-apples, grapes etc. It should be remembered that the Jain monks, who were vegetarians, had a special fancy for fruits and in the Paumachrivan Sita is once represented as giving them fruits like naranga (orange), <u>phanasa</u> (Sanskrit <u>panasa</u> or bread-fruit), <u>inguya</u> (Terminalia catappa), kayalī (banana), khajjūra and coconut (nāliera, Sanskrit narikela). Similar lists of fruits will be found in the <u>Samaraiccakaha</u> of Haribhadra and a more useful list in the <u>Yasastilakacamou</u> of Somedeva.

So far as the drinks are concerned, it should be pointed out, that even from the Vedic period, the Indianswere fond of intoxicating drinks. The great popularity of Soma can easily be guested if we consider that the entire 9th book of the Rksamhita is dedicated 538 to him. Afterwards, drinks brewed from honey, grapes and sugarcane and other agricultural products, became well-knowness and there was practically no taboo on liquor

539 The <u>Arthaśāstra</u> in ancient India. of Kautilya has a section on the sale and manufacture of liquor. It is also known from the Periplus, composed in the first century A.D., that wine was imported into India and that Italian wine was preferred, although Laodicean and Arabian wines also were regularly imported. Both the Arthasastra and the Jain Upanga text. $\sqrt{11vajivabhigama}$ mention the wine produced in Kapisi (part of Afghanistan) and it is also mentioned, probably for the first time in the Ashtadhyavi of Panini. Our medical texts ascribed to Caraka also have highly recommended the consumption Susruta The Jain texts have generally condemned the drinking of liquor. The Paumacarivam of Vimala in a single passage has denounced the consumption of liquor (sura) along with mahu (madhu) and meat (mamsa). However, it often refers to the couples drinking wine and generally 548 it was consumed by them in the night. It also refers to the fact that Kadambari (Frakrit Kavambari) wine was specially liked by Lakshmana, the brother of Rama. In this connexion the drinking-peg cashaka (rakrit casae) has also been mentioned. Elsewhere in the Paumacariyam other variaties of wines namely prasanna, madhu, sidhu etc. have been mentioned.

Although the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien notes that wine was not taken by the Madhyadesa people; the evidence of Kalidasa proves that wine was regularly

consumed in the Gupta period. 55% Drinking of wine is mentioned in almost all the works of Kalidasa, including 553 Sakuntala, and the Kumarasambhavam. 555 Even in the Jain works of our period (600 to 1000 A. D.,) we have several references to the drinking of wine.

The 7th-century text the Nisitha <u>Curni</u> not only refers repeatedly to the drinking of wine, but also wine shops or taverns. We are told in that texts that flags were hoisted over the wine-shops, particularly in Maharastra country, so that the monks could detect those taverns to enable them to refrain from accepting alms from This shows that the Jains in those days had a there. prodound hatred for liquor. But references to them in the text proves it popularity with ordinary people. In this connection another 7th-century writer, namely, the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang makes a very clear statement. According to him the Ksatriyas drink a liquor manufactured from vine and the sagar-cane, and the Vaisyals drink a type of strong distilled spirit; the Buddhist monks and the Brahmanas, according to him, drink syrup of grapes. and of sugar-cane; the low mixed castes used to take all kinds of drinks. The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> informs us, that only in times of sickness, the monks could take wine as medicine. The <u>Samaraiccakaha</u> also condemns the drinking of wine. The evidence of Al-Biruni proves that drinking

was common only among Sudras in his time and the upper castes were naturally forbidden to take wine. It appears that because of the strict attitude of the Jains and also of the later Smrti writers, intoxicating liquors gradually became unpopular in India.

Section (ix) : Sports and Amusements

Even in the Re redic period, a few of the popular games like hunting, gambling, chariot-racing etc., were quite well-known. However, from the Vedic literature we do not any concrete idea regarding games, which were popular among women. In the epics also, we get references to Sports, most of which are known from the Vedic texts. The Buddhist and Jain canonical works throw more light on the popular games, current among both man and women. There is little doubt that our ancient forefathers had a positive attitude towards life, and left no stone unturned to make the fullest use of their leisure hours. In this section, we will discuss some of major games, mentioned in the Jain literature of our period. And let us take up hunting first.

Mrgayā or hunting was known even from the earliest Vedic literature. 562 A few of our well-known ancient kings like Dushyanta 563 and Parikshit 562 were greatly addicted to hunting, Panini in his Ashtadhyayi recognises

it as a major source of amusement and Pathjali in his Mahabhashya 566 throws much more light on different types of <u>Mrgava</u>. Kautilya refers to hunting as one of the four vices of kings, although according to him it is notes as great an evil as gambling. He further remarks that the regular practice of hunting is good for health. The Paumacariyam of Vimala represents Vajra karna of Dasapure as a hunter. The Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra refers to hunting (akheta). It is mentioned in the Adipurana of Jinasena I. The <u>Kathasaritsagara</u> condemns this game. The Manasollasa 579 mentions 31 types of Mrgaya. 8th-century text the <u>Kuttanimata</u> of Damodaragupta mentions it several times and uses words like akhetaka, 575 and Mrgava for it. The Gupta gold coins prove the popularity of hunting in the Gupta age. The kings and other aristocratic people of India were addicted to hunting even in the later period. The great savant Hemacandra records in his Trishashtisalakapurushacaritac that under his guidance, the king Kumarapala (of Gujarat) gave up hunting, which even Pandy and others could not give up.

Gambling was another type of popular game, which is mentioned in as early a text as the Rksamhita; 578 a hymn 579 in the last Book of that text represents a dicer as lamenting the loss of his property

and other things in this game. In the <u>Mahabharata</u> we have the stories of Naha and Yudhishthira who were addicted to this game and Kautilya in his <u>Arthasastra</u> regards it as a greater evil then hunting. Elsewhere the <u>Arthasastra</u> mentions a few of the rules regarding gambling and punishments for cheating in this game.

The Nisitha Gurni mentions the game of dice (bukkana) and states that the devakulas (temples) were the famous resorts of the gamblers. That the devakulas were frequented by gamblers is also illustrated by the story of the defeated gambler in the Mrcchakatika 583 in his Dasakumaracarita 584 has praised this particular game, through the month of one of his characters. One of the friends of Baka called Akhandala, was an expert dice-player (akshika) 585 and another called Bhimaka an inveterate gambler (kitava). 586 The Samaraiccakahā 587 mentions this popular game several times, and the Brhatsamhita 588 also knows both dyntajivin and kitava. It appears that a class of people took it up as a profession, and two of Bana's friends, mentioned above, were professional gamblers. Brhatkathakosa of Harishena has condemned this game in very strong language.

Another popular game was <u>Vahvalika</u>

(also Bahyalika), which is frequently mentioned in the

<u>Samaraiccakaha</u> of Haribhadra. The kings and other

aristocratic people used to watch the game in which horses and elephants took part in a big play-ground called Vahvali.

It appears that it was like modern polo game. The Adipurana, 59% it is interesting to note, mentions this game. The Manasollasa give valuable description of this particular game.

Another game, which was very popular among women was <u>Kanduka-kridā</u>. It is mentioned in the Amarakosha. where we have its second name as genduka. The <u>Javamangala</u> commentary of the Kamasutra includes it under Balakrida mentioned by Vatsyayana. The Samaraiccakaha mentions it prominently and Adipurana of Jinasena I also knows this game, which was a popular among royal ladies. However, the most beautiful description of this game will be found in the Dasakumaracarita 597 of Dandin who has used in this connexion, the express on Kandukotsava, the festival of Kanduka. In this account we are told of the great skill of the princes of Damalipta (another name of Tamralipta) of the Suhma country. It appears from the description that this particular game was quite popular in Bengal. The 7th-century Jain commentary Nisitha Curni 599 also refers to this game. Kalidasa too, refers to this game. 600

Swimming was also quite popular and the various types of water-sports are mentioned in both the Jain and the non-Jain literature of the period under review. The Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa describes this game quite in a

number of verses, in which the royal ladies took part.

The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> refers to this game. The <u>Kuvalayamālā</u> 603 also mentions this game quite prominently. The Jain Harivamsa gives a poetical description of water-sport at Dvaraka. In connexion with water-sports, various types of artificial instruments have been mentioned, not only in the Jain literary texts like the <u>Vasastilakacamou</u> and the <u>Kumarapalacarita</u> but also in works like <u>Kadambari</u> and the <u>Samarangasutradhāra</u>. 605

The wrestling was quite popular from very early times. The Vaishnava Harivamsa 606 has a good description of wrestling match between Krshna-Baladeva brothers and Canura and Mushtika. It should be remembered that in ancient India some of the games were held during that in ancient India some of the games were held during that in the festivals. In the Mahabharata, we are told, that in the festival held before the marriage of Draupadi at Kampilya, several types of games were played. Elsewhere also the Mahabharata, describes the wrestling bout between Jarasandha and Bhima. Both wrestling and boxing (mallayuddha and bahuyuddha) are mentioned in the Misitha Curni. The Jain canonical commentaries refer to a great wrestler called Attaga, who was a resident of Jiayini. These texts also refer to a wrestling match, which was held every year of Surparaka under the patronage

of its king Simhagiri, 612 who was a great patron of this game. Another wrestler called Phalihamalla, has been mentioned in the early Jain commentaries of Jinadāsa. 613

He was a resident of a village near Bhygukaccha. It appears from these references that wrestling was specially popular in Western India. It is interesting to note that the story regarding Attana and his disciple Phalihamalla, is also told in the Dharmopadesamalā of Jayasima, written in the 9th century. In this story we also come across the express malla-mahūsava (mallomahotsava) 615

Several other lesser games and amusements are also mentioned in the Jain texts of our period. The cock-fighting (tamracudayuddha) was also quote popular and is mentioned both by Dandin 616 and Bana. A Jain story referred to by Meyer, describes beautifully a cock-fight.

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- 250. Trans. (Cowell), p. 124; text (Chowkhamba), p. 243.
- 251. See M. Sen, op.cit., p. 267.
- 25%. Loc. cit.
- 253. See Watters, op.cit. I, p. 222.
- 254. See 3rd Act (Chowkhamba), pp. 74 ff.
- 256. See III, pp. 144.
- 256. III, pp. 141-45.
- 257. III, p. 79.
- 25%. Vol. I, p. 61.
- 259. III, p. 142.
- 260. See M. Sen, op.cit., pp. 268-69.
- 261. See Takakusu, op.cit., p. 150.
- 262, 95, 8-9,
- 263. 115.4; 119.8.
- 264. 97.2; the relevant passage has been quoted in P.S. Jain's Hindi work on <u>Kuvalavamala</u> p. 337.
- 265. See in this connexion, the Deads of Harsha (1969), Varanasi, pp. 84 f.
- 266. See Chowkhamba edition of Kamasutra.
- 267. 5.52.
- 26%. See Agrawala, op.cit., p. 85.
- 269. (Chowkhabma), 3rd Book, p. 195.
- 270. (Chowkhamba), Ch. 58.
- 27£. (Gurumandal, Calcutta edition, 1954), ch. 260.
- 27%. Chapters 49 ff (chowkhamba).

- 275. See Sachau, Alberuni's India (Reprint, Delhi, 1964), I, pp. 111 ff.
- 274. See <u>Vedic Age</u>, pp. 402, 467 and 531 f and see also <u>Vedic Index</u>, I, pp. 229 ff.
- 275. For <u>devakula</u>, see <u>Bhagavatī</u> (Sailana ed.),

 pp. 1478, 2759; the 8th Sataka of the <u>Bhagavatī</u>

 also contains words <u>thūva</u> (stūpa), <u>gopura</u> etc.
- 276. See P. T. S. Dict (Pali Eng), p. 329 'devagaha'.
- 277. (Critical ed.), ch. 3.
- 278. See I, ch. 5 (Gita Press).
- 279. See B. S. Upadhyaya, India in Kalidasa, pp. 245 ff.
- 280. See Chapter 56; see also A. Mitra Shastri, <u>India</u>
 as seen in the Brhatsamhita of Varahamihira (Delhi,
 1969), pp. 272 ff.
- 281. See 3.55, p. 229 (Bombay \$ 1920).
- 282. Sutras 97 ff.
- 283. See op.cit., pp. 188.
- 284. I, p. 22.
- 285. See Jain, J. C., op.cit., p. 189.
- 286. See pp. 136 ff; and the Introduction, pp. 43 f.
- 287. See (Gita Press) II, 9.22; 10.8 etc.
- 288. See Introd, p. 22 (Bombay, 1938).
- 289. See 21.32 ff.
- 290. See for details, M. Sen, op.cit., pp. 254 ff.
- 291. See E. I. II, p. 204, No. XX.
- 292. See Nisitha Curni, III, p. 79; Brh Vr. V, p. 1536;
 Yasastilaka, p. 315; etc. etc.

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293. E.I. II, p. 204.
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294. See Luders, List, Nos. 93, 99.

295. No. 93.

296. Luders, No. 78, 102.

297. Luders, No. 82.

298. See Luders, No. 102.

299. See II, p. 225; M. Sen, op.cit., p. 256.

300. Ibid. III, p. 149.

301. See M. Sen, op.cit., pp. 256 ff.

302. See Majumber, R. C, The Classical Accounts etc., 16.223 f.

303. Jataka No. 156 (Cowell, II, b. 750.14).

304. Shemasastry, trans, pp. 50 tf.

305. For details, see M. Sen, op.cit., pp. 257 f.

306. See Sizear, Sel Ins., etc., I (2nd ed.) p. 217.

307. Vol. I, p. 9.

308, 80, 2-14,

309. IV, p. 361.

310. See 37. 146.

311. I, p. 43.

312. See P. K. Acharya, Architecture of Manasara, p. 373.

313. See Chapter V.

314. See for details, Agrawala, Deeds of Harsha, pp. 116 ff.

315. See II, 20, 11-12.

316. P. 112.

317. 46. 299.

318. I, p. 45; IV, 291-95, 301, 308; V, 481-82 etc.

- 319. Pp. 367-373.
- 320. Kuvalayamala, 73.8.
- 321. <u>Ibid.</u> 138.19.
- 322. See 164.8; 168.8.
- 323. See 168.15.
- 324. See pp. 147, 151.
- 325. See Kuvalavamala, 161.26.
- 326. VI, 82.
- 327. See pp. 344 ff.
- 328. See Acta N. 7. pp. 229 66 (Chorskhamba)
- 329. See P. Bhatia, The Paramaras,
- 330. See Chowkhamba ed. pp. 68, 97.
- 331. See Chowkhamba ed., I, 4 (pp. 99 ff).
- 332. See Vedic Index, II, p. 292.
- 333. See Raghuvamsa. XVI, 43.
- 334. See Majumdar, R.C. <u>The Classical Accounts of India</u>, p. 230.
- 335. See <u>Paninikalin Bharatavaraha</u>, 2nd edition, 1969, p. 134.
- 336. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 135.
- 337. See M. M. Williams, S.E.D., p. 1063.
- 338. See II. 32.32.
- 339. See Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 148.
- 340. See <u>Life in Ancient India</u> etc. pp. 128 f, for the complete list.
- 341. See Prakrit text Society edition, pp. 163 f., and see the Introduction, pp. 48 f.
- 342. See Vol. III, p. 566; see also M. Sen, <u>A Cultural</u>

 <u>Study of Nisitha Curni</u>, p. 146.

- 365. See Watters, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 148.
- 366. For the fuller list, see M. Sen. op.cit., pp. 150 ff.
- 367. II, pp. 95-96.
- 368. See in this connexion, J. Yadav, Samaraiccakaha eka Samskritika Adhyavana, Varanasi, 1977, pp. 200 ff.
- 369. See B. S. Upadhyay, <u>India in Kalidasa</u>, p. 198 and footnotes for relevant references.
- 370. See II. 14.6.
- 371. See 10.181; 11.133; 12.30; 15.23.
- 372. See Book I, p. 34 (Chowkhamba).
- 373. IV. 292; IX, pp. 898, 911, 957, 973.
- 374. See Bhagavati, XV. 1.541.
- 375. Bharatiya Jnanapitha ed., 27.24, the actual word here is dushvasala.
- 376. See J. C. Jain, op.cit., p. 130.
- 377. Ibid. p. 130, fn. 92.
- 378. See Harshacarita eka Samskritika Adhyayana, p. 75.
- 379. Para 116 (B.K. Chatterjee's ed., Calcutta University, p. 92).
- 380. See Kuvalavamala ka Samskritika Adhyavana, pp. 139 ff.
- 381. 18,26; 169,13.
- 582. II. 6.11 , rallaka-kambalau.
- 383. See Watters. op.cit., I, p. 148.
- 384. See P. S. Jain, op.cit., pp. 149-151.
- 385. 7.18.

- 386, 66,2,
- 787. Passage quoted by P. S. Jain, op.cit., p. 150, fn. 3; see also V. S. Agrawala, The Deeds of Harsha, pp. 28, 105.
- 388. 7.39.
- 389. See Agrawala, op.cit. p. 28.
- 390. Loc. cit.
- 391. See for the entire list, G. C. Jain, <u>Yasastilaka</u>
 <u>ka samskritika Adhvayana</u>, Amritsar, 1967,
 pp. 121 ff.
- 392. <u>Ibid.</u> p. 124 fn. 22.
- 393. B6ok VII, p. 387 (Chowkhamba).
- 394. See The Deeds of Harsha, p. 203.
- 395. See Motichandra, <u>Pracina Bharativa Vesa-bhusha</u>,
 Allahabad, V. S. 2007, p. 95.
- 396. See <u>Purvapithika</u>, p. 16 and G. C. Jain, <u>op.cit.</u>. p. 131.
- 397. Part II, p. 51.
- 398. II. 8.63.
- 399. See Jain, G. C., op.cit., p. 131 fn. 85.
- 400. See the relevant quotation in Motichandra's work, p. 160 (fn.128).
- 401. See G. C. Jain, op.cit., pp. 133 f; and see p. 133 fn. 98 for the relevant quotation.
- 402. See II, 6.119.
- 403. Op.cit., p. 24.
- 404. V. 2.1.8.

- 405. Fürvapithika, p. 150.
- 406. See G. C. Jain, op-cit, p. 137 and footnote 129.
- 407. <u>Vedic Index</u>, pp. 124. 125
- 408. <u>Ibid</u>, 1, 140.
- 409. <u>Ibid</u>. 1.163.
- 410. <u>Ibid</u>, 1.164;
- 411. <u>Ibid</u>, 1.216,
- 412. <u>Ibid</u>, 1.311.
- 413. <u>Ibid</u>, 1.454, 455
- 414. <u>Ibid</u>, 1.463
- 415. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 40, 515
- 416. <u>Ibid</u>, II.44
- 417. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 57.
- 418. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 119, 120,
- 419. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 129.
- 420. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 224.
- 421. Ibid, II. 304.
- 422. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 322.
- 423. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 350.
- 424. <u>Ibid.</u> II. 365.
- 425. <u>Ibid.</u> II.483,
- 426. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 487.
- 427. <u>Ibid</u>, II. 490
- 428. See McCrindle, J. W. Ancient India Etc. p. 70.
- 429. For further details, see Chandra, op.cit. pp. 428f.
- 430. See for details Shastri, A.M. op.cit.pp. 227 ff.

- 431. See Watters, op.cit, Vol.I.p. 151.
- 432. See Agrawala, V.S. Kadambari eka samskrta adhyayana, p.29
- 433. See Vol 2,p. 398 and also Sen, M, op.cit. p. 193.
- 434. For details see Shastri, A.M., op.cit, p.229.
- 435. See for details Sen, M., op.cit, p. 173.
- 436. See Agrawala, V. S., op.cit, p. 31.
- 437 . See NC, Vol. 2, p. 398.
- 438. See Sen, M. op.cit, p. 173 f. n. 8.
- 439. See Agrawala V. S., The fleeds of Harsa, Varanasi, 1969, p. 29
- 440. See Shastri, A.M., op.cit, p. 232 and f.n.4.
- 441. See Sen, M. op.cit. p.175
- 442. Vedix Index, Vol. 2, p.490
- 443. Saletore, R.N., Life in the Gupta Age. Bombay, 1943, pp.425 ff.
- 444. Loc.cit.
- 445. This list has been taken from P.S. Jain's Hindi work on the <u>Kuvalavamala</u>, pp. 157 f.
- 446. See Upadhye, A. N., Kuvalayamala, part-II. Notes, p.1-5
- 447. See in this connection Jain, P.S., op. cit, p. 159.
- 448. II. 6.108,
- 449. 113. 10,
- 450. 4.104; 8.13. See also Jain, P.S., op.cit, p.160.
- 451. See Yadav, J. op.cit, p.210.
- 452. <u>Ibid</u>, pp.206 ff.
- 453. See pp.531, 196 and 621; see also Jain, G.C., op.cit, pp. 141 ff.

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454. See p. 463.
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- 455. See Cowell's Trans. pp. 251 ff.
- 456. **b.** 367.
- 457. p. 10.
- 458. See Jain, G. C., op.cit, p. 150.
- 459. p. 345.
- 460. p. 163
- 461. See in this connection Sivaramamurti, Amaravati

 Sculptures in the Madras Museum, Madras, 1956, p.114.
- 462. **P.** 399.
- 463. See Watters, op.cit. Vol. p.151 .
- 464. See <u>Vedic age</u>, p. 528.
- 465. See in this connection Shastri, A.M., op.cit. p. 238.
- 466. See 224.33.
- 467. See Sen, M, op.cit,p.179.
- 468. <u>loc. cit</u>.
- 469. See Chowkhamba edition, pp.305 f.
- 470. See Takakusu, op. cit, p.149.
- 471. See Shastri, A.M. op.cit, p. 241
- 472. 124.34.
- 473. See Saletore, R.N. op.cit, p. 416.
- 474. See Shastri, A.M. op.cit, p.238.
- 475. Ibid, pp:237 ff.
- 476. For details regarding these items see Yadav, J., op.cit pp. 212 ff.
- 477% I.5.76f.

- 478. Sutrasthana, 46.279f and Cikitsasthana, 24.21.
- 479. See for details, Shastri, A.M., op.cit, p.247.
- 480. See Vol.3, p.319.
- 481. See Cowell's trans. p. 72.
- 482. Loc.cit.
- 483. X,60.23.
- 484. See for details, Jadav, J. op.cit.p.214.
- 485. See for details, Jain, G.C., op.cit., pp.157f.
- 486. Loc.cit.
- 487. Harshacarita, (Cowell's trans) p. 116.
- 488. See Pali Eng.dist (P.T.S.), p. 581.
- 489. See Saletore, R.N., op.cit.p.412.
- 490. See Watters, op.cit. vol. I, p.148.
- 491. See Agrawala, V.S.. The deeds of Harsha, p.122 and fig.56.
- 492. p. 532
- 493. See 182.7, 1.5
- 494. See p. 105.
- 495. For details see Jain P.S., op.cit. pg. 163 f.
- 496. See Jain, G.C., op.cit, pp. 153ff.
- 497. See 76.2 -4.
- 498. See Shastri, A.M., op.cit, p.244.
- 499. See for a list of food articles, <u>Vedic Index</u>, reprint (1967), Vol-II, pp. 578 f.
- 500. See Abid, Vol.II, pp. 145ff; where the authors have discussed references to meat-eating in the Vedic period.

- 501. See III. 69.9 10 (cr. ed)
- 502. III. 251. 11 13 (cr. ed)
- 503. See Legge, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdom, p. 43.
- 504. See in this connection Raghuvamsa, IX, 98;

 Malavikagnimitram Act II, p.54; and Sakuntala Act II,
 p.19; see also Saletore, R.N. Life in the Guota Age,

 Bombay, 1943, pp. 117 f.
- 505. See Watters, On Yuan-Chwang's travels in India, Vol-I p. 178 (2nd Indian Reprint, 1973).
- 506. Loc. cit.
- 507. See Chowkhamba edition, p. 377 (7th Ucchvasa); see also in this connection, V.S. Agrawala, The deeds of Harsha, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 195 f.
- 508. See M. Sen, A Cultural Study of the Nisitha Curni,p.135.
- 50%. See Sutrasthanam, ch.46 (pp. 199 ff); Motilal Banarsidass ed., Delhi 1975.
- 510. See Motilal Banarsidass ed; I, pp. 233 ff (Sutrasthanam)
- 511. See the list reproduced in G.C. Jain's Hindi work on Yasastilakacampu, pp.97f.
- 512. See Life in Ancient India etc. p.126.
- 513. 22. 14ff (Sailana edition, 1974).
- 514. See the Kota e dition (1935), 7th Adhyayana (para 28)
- 515. See K. R. Chandra, A Critical study of the Paumacariyam, Vaisali, 1970, pp. 415 f.
- 516.See P.T.S. Edition, 26.35 ff.
- 517. 26.40

- 518. See 5.100.
- 519. See Vol. III, pp. 518, 521.
- 520. See in this connexion M. Sen, op.cit. pp. 136 f.
- 521. Loc. cit.
- 522. Loc. cit.
- 523. See Vol. III, p. 222.
- 524. I, p. 158.
- 525. See J. Yadav, op.cit., pp. 198 f; and foot notes
 11-14 of p. 198 and foot note 1 of p. 199 for
 relevant references from that text.
- 526. See III. pp. 313, 319.
- 527. See Handiqui, <u>Yasastilaka and Indian Culture</u>, p. 23; and see also p. 144 of the text.
- 528. See Uttarardha, p. 218 and also p. 105 of G. C. Jain's Hindi work on this text.
- 529. See II, p. 237.
- 530. See Watters, op.cit., I, p. 177.
- 531. Loc. cit.
- 532. See Sutrasthanam, 46. 139 ff.
- 533. Satrathanam, 27.122 ff.
- 534. See Chandra, op.cit., p. 414.
- 535. 41.9 (P.T.S. edition).
- 536. See J. Yadav, op.cit. pp. 195 f.
- 537. See G. C. Jain, op.cit., pp. 97 f.
- 538. See Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, pp. 104 ff (Reprint).
- 539. See Trans. Shamasastry, pp. 133 ff (ch.25).
- 540. See Schoff's trans. para 49; see also para 39.

- 541. See trans. p. 135.
- 542. See 3rd Pratipatti (section); see also Chatterjee,

 A Comprehensive History of Jainism, Ap. 249.
- 543. IV. 2.99.
- 544. See Sutrasthanam, 27.175 ff.
- 545. See Satrasthanam, 45.170 ff.
- 546. See 26.47.
- 547. See 70.51 ff.
- 548, 113,10,
- 549. Loc. cit.
- 550. See for details, Chandra, op.cit., p. 416.
- 551. See Beal, <u>Buddhist Records of the Western World</u>
 (Reprint) Delhi, 1969, <u>FO-KWO-KI</u>, p. XXXVIII.
- 552. See in this connexion, B. S. Upadhyaya, <u>India in</u>
 Kalidasa, Delhi, 2nd edition, 1968, p. 196.
- 553. See 3rd Act (p. 49 of N. S. edition, pp. 308 ff of Vasumati edition of Kalipasa's works).
- 554. 6th Act (p. 146 of Vasumati ed; and p. 188 of N. S. ed.).
- 555. 8.77.
- 556. See II, p. 136; and M. Sen, op.cit. p. 143.
- 557. See Sen, op.cit. pp. 143 ff.
- 558. See Watters, op.cit., I, p. 178.
- 559. See M. Sen, op.cit., p. 144 and see also J. C. Jain, op.cit., p. 125.
- 560. See IV, p. 280 and also Vi, p. 554; and VIII, p. 827.
- 561. See Sachau, Alberuni's India, II, pp. 151 f.

- 584. (Chowkhamba ed.), p. 431 (Uttarapithika, 8th Ucchvasa).
- 585. Harshacarita (Chowkhamba), p. 75 (Book I).
- 586. Loc. cit.
- 687. III, p. 183; IV, pp. 243-44, 254, 256.
- 588. IX. 34; X. 6.
- 589. See Story Nos, 36, 39 and 40.
- 590. See I, p. 16; VIII, p. 845.
- 591. 37. 47.
- 592. See IV. 3. 547-562; See IV. 4.490.
- 593. See II. 6.138 (Chowkhamba).
- 594. See Chowkhamba edition of Kamasutra, p. 93.
- 595. I, p. 22; II, p. 82.
- 596. 45. 183.
- 597. See pp. 319 ff (Uttarapithika, 6th Uccherasa).
- 598. P. 320.
- 599. III, p. 349.
- 600. Raghu, XVI. 83.
- 601. <u>Ibid.</u> XVI. 54 ff.
- 602. See II, pp. 349-50.
- 603. 8.8, 97.5; 240. 14-16 etc. See also P. S. Jain, op.cit., p. 326.
- 604. See 55.51 ft (ed P. L. Jain).
- 605. For details, See G. C. Jain, op.cit., pp. 555 ff; and Agrawala, V. S, Kadambari A Cultural Story (in Hindi), pp. 372 ff.

CHAPTER - IV

Economic Life

Section (i) : Agriculture

From the earliest times Agriculture was the most important occupation of the vast majority of the Indian people. Excavations at various Harappan sites have proved that majority of the well-known agricultural products were known to the people of those days. The Vedic literature contains the names of almost all the major agricultural products. A passage of the Satapatha Brahmana mentions the following popular products - vrihi, vava, tila, masha, anu, privamgu, godhuma, masura, khala and kula. The epico - Puranic literature also throws a flood of light on the advanced stage of agriculture, particularly in northern India. A very useful list of agricultural products is given in that great madiexal text, namely the Susruta Samhita. The Jain works also of our period not only give us sufficient information on agricultural products, but also enlighten us on several other things connected with agriculture.

Our Smrti texts prescribe that the Brahmanas and Ksatriyas should always shun the agricultural profession. But in actual practice sometimes persons belonging to higher caste did not hesitate to become farmers. But the Jatakas and the Pancatantra know of Brahmana agriculturalists. It is

quite natural that a vast majority of the Brahmanas, who lived in villages, could not permanently avoid this particular profession. A few fortunate and wealthy members of the two higher castes could afford to keep labourers and slaves, but not the ordinary Brahmanas, who were not lucky enough to receive royal favours. It further appears that majority of the Vaisyas of this period were attracted towards trade, and agriculture therefore was left largely to the Sudras. This explains why the 7th-century traveller Yuan Chwang boserves that the Sudras, in his time looked after agricultural operations and the Vaisyas were mainly traders who "barter commodities and pursue gain far and near". However, it is somewhat surprising that even in the 10th century A.D., according to Jain Somadeva 6 a Vaisyas should pursue agriculture and cattle-rearing alongwith trade. But it appears from the testimony of Yuan Chwang that the Vaisyas confined their interest only toatrade, in the post-Gupta period.

The Jain writers do not approve of the profession of agriculture as it involves the killing of innumerable insects; but as is evident from most of the Jain texts agriculture was in the early medieval period the profession of the majority of the Indians. Different terms were used from early period to denote a farmer or agriculturalist. The Prakrit word gahavai (i.e. grhapati), it appears, demonstrates an affluent farmer-cum-householder

in the Jain canonical texts, and Samage (in) the Kalpasutral, who have another word for farmer viz. kudumbia (i.e. Kutumbin) which also means a farmer. The Amarakosa has four names for the farmer viz. Kshetrajiva, Karshaka, Krshika, and Krshibala. The Nisitha Curni refers to the karmakaras i.e. agricultural labourers, who enjoyed a better status than the slaves. 12

The valuable 7th century Jain commentary called the Nisitha Curni of Jinadasa not only throws light on the ordinary varieties of food-grains like sugarcane, barley, rice etc., 15 but also on the connected problems regarding agricultural operations, land problems and related things. A passage 14 of this text seems to imply that the theory of state-ownership of land was not always valid in ancient India. Pr. Mrs. M. Sen was the first to draw our attention to this passage according to which a garden (arama) could be purchased by any one including the Vanik (trader), gotthi (corporation), or king (ranna). Here the mention of the purchase of garden by the king (raya), according to her, implies that all land did not belong to the king as he too, had to purchase a piece of land. But this particular word can also mean a kshatriva. Such examples of a king or a prince purchasing a land are not rare in ancient times. The king was technically the lord of the land and this is the opinion of both the Greek writers and Kautilya. Strabo, 17 quoting Megasthenes, declares "the whole of the country is of royal ownership and the

farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce". Kautilya (apparently a contemporary of Megasthenes), also says practically the same thing in his Arthasastra where he declares that janapada (kingdom) is one of the elements of sovereignty. In the section entitled 'Sitadhyaksha' (the superintendent of agriculture) Kautilya also indirectly speaks of king's right on land. It appears from the classical writers that the farmers on the agriculturalists enjoyed a high status in society and they were never theated as slaves. Strabo (quoting Megasthenes) represents the farmers not only as numerous in India but also the most highly respected. He also mentions "their exemption from military service and right of freedom in their farming". 20 This clear observation on the part of both Megasthenes and Strabo should destroy all misconceptions regarding the antual status of farmers in the Indian society. The Jain and Buddhist works, both canonical and non-canonical, refer often to rich farmers, belonging to various castes. As at present, the farmers in those days depended mostly on rains for a good crop. The agricultural operations generally started with the advent of the rainy season. 27 The absence of rain sometimes created famine conditions as evident from an account given by Udyotanasuri. 22 The Avasyaka Curni (7th century) twice mentions famines lasting for a long time once in the Uttarapatha²³ and another time in Dakshinapatha.²⁴ Vyavahārabhāshya²⁵ also gives a vivid picture of famine

in which the people were forced to sell their children.

Famines due to crop failure, locust-menace, or other factors are mentioned even in the Vedic literature. 26

Due to this menace there was a terrible failure of crop in the Kuri ianapada. The Buddhist and Brahmanical texts also often refer to crop failures and the Kathasaritsagara, particularly, refers to starvation deaths due to crop failure. The other Jain works 28 also refer to famine due to the same cause.

The Jain works of our period also mention several types of agricultural implements like hala, kuliva and damtala. These are also mentioned in Akalanka's commentary on Tattvarthadhigamasutra. According to the Nisitha Curni 29 kulita was a type of grass-cutting wooden instrument used particularly in Gujarat area (Saurashtra region) and it measured two hastas (hands) i.e. a metre and had iron rails fixed at the end, along with an iron plate attached to it. The same text, as noted by M. Sen mentions other implements like datra (sickle), axe (kuhāda), hatchet (sattara), scissors (pippalaga), kwives (churiya) The word langala in the sense of hala appears even in the Vedic literature. 31 The Prakrit word for it in Jain literature is namgala, which occurs in the 7th century Avasyaka Curni

Irrigation facilities were available to

Indian farmers from very early times. From the Junagarh inscription 33 of Rudradaman we know that Candragupta Maurya (4th cent. B.C.) first excavated a tank called Sudarsana for the benefit of cammon people and also farmers. Afterwards it was repaired in the 2nd century and also in the 5th century as we learn from the Junagarh inscription of Skandagupta. The Rajatarangini 35 also speaks of engineer Suyya's irrigational activities which immensely benefited farmers of Kashmir in the 9th century. Vimala's famous Jain text, namely the Paumacariyam 36 speaks of irrigation of land by artificial means when it refers to the Persianwheel (arabatta ghadijanta). The Nisitha Curni also contains references to irrigation of land. In this connection we have an interesting passage in the commentary of the Brhatkalpabhashva according which rainfall was the main source of irrigation in the Lata country, while in the Sindhudesa the Ksetras were watered by rivers and in Dravida from ponds and in the Uttarapatha from wells (Kiva or Kupa). The same text divides the fields into two groups, namely setu and ketu, the former being irrigated by means of wells and the latter by rain-water. 38 As we have already observed the agriculturalists were treated as free citizens, but they sometimes had to employ forced labour-called dasa or bhavaga kammakara. Kautilya in his Arthagastra recommends the employment of fixed labourers

<u>Janadadas</u>

6.

8.

Punch

Takka

Cinabhukti

and slaves in the agricultural fields.

The 10th-century writer Somadeva in his

41

Nitivakvamrta has advised the king to deal carefully with his
farmers. Somadeva is conscious of the fact that the prosperity
42
of kings depends on the well-being of the farmers. That in the
early medieval or post-Gupta period India enjoyed great
agricultural prosperity is proved by the very important testimony
of Yuan Chwang. That Chinese pilgrim has described in several
places the abundance of various types of crops in different
43
janapadas of India. We are giving below some of the
agricultural products of different janapadas as noted by
Yuan Chwang.

Lempaka Upland Rice and Sugar-cane. 1. 2. Gandhara Several types of seeds, fruits, Sugar-cane and Sugar-candy. Grapes and Sugarecane. 46 3. Udyana Vegetables and general crops. Takshasila 4. 4. All types of fruits. 5. Kashmir 5.

- except grapes and also mango
 49
 and the plantain.
 - 7. Upland Rice and Spring
 50
 Wheat.

Grain, Sugar-cane, fruits

Products.

Good crops of grain but

51

not many trees.

	Janadadas.		Products.
9.	Jalandhara	9.	Upland Rice, several types
··. •		** , *	of fruits and other grain.
10.	Vairat	10.	Spring Wheat and a rice
			which grew in 60 days
, .		ns -11 .	(shashtika).
11.	Mathura	11.	Various types of agricultural
	- ₁	., .	products and fruits.
12.	Ahicchatra	12.	General types of grains.
13.	Kausambi	13.	Upland Rice and Sugar-cane.
14.	Varanasi	14.	All types of agricultural
*		4	products including fruits.
15.	Vaisali	15.	Mangoes, plantains and other 58
. •	•		types of fruits.
16.	Magadha	16.	Rice of very high quality.
17.	Kamarupa	17.	Jack-fruit and cocoa.
Even a very casual perusal of Yuan Chwang's account would			
convince a reader that the soil of different janapadas was			
not fertile, but was carefully maintained. Some of the			
agricultural products noted by Yuan-Chwang are still			
produced in those places, even to this day. For example (Kausamii) much sugar is produced in the Allahabad region and Patna (Mayadla)			
much sugar is produced in the Allahabad region and Patna (Magacha)			
is still famous for its excellent rice.			

The Jain works of our period contain the names of various agricultural products, quite a number

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of which have been mentioned by earlier Brahmanical writers. A good list of agricultural products is to be found in the 8th century work entitled the <u>Nisithabhashva</u>. The list contains twenty-four names - Java, gohuma, sali, vihi, satthiya, koddava, anva, kamgu, ralaga, tila, mugga, masa, atasi, harimamtha, tipuda, nipphava, alisamda, masa, (another name pandara cavalaga) ikkhu, masura, tavari, kulattha, dhanaga, and kala. In this dist several names are those of different (the Prayerist spatting) varieties of rice. Sali was a very popular name of superior variety of rice and is mentioned by almost all early writers including Kautilya Varahamihira and Utpala . In the Brhatsamhita, the names of twenty varieties of sali rice calls sali the Saradhanya or the most are given. Utpala nourishing rice. The Nisitha Curni of the 7th century mentions it. It is also mentioned in the Adipurana Jinasena and Yasastilaka of Somadeva. Kalama, which according to Caraka, was a variety of <u>sali</u> rice is mentioned prominently by Jinasena and Somadeva. Jinadāsa in his Nisttha Curni refers to Kalama rice. As noted by Prof. the Kalama is mentioned in the Jain Anga text, the <u>Upasakadasao</u> and it was grown in eastern India. Quite naturally, the Jain Angavijja, written in western India, does not know this type of rice, although Kalidasa is familiar Krit Vriki) Vihi mentioned in the above quoted list of the Nisithabhashya, was the name of a very high quality rice and is recognised even in the Vedic texts as a superior quality It is mentioned in several Jain works including the

Paumacarivam , the Angavijia , the Adipurana, the Nisitha Curni , etc. That last mentioned work as M. Sen notes, refers to a kind of gruel, prepared from the parched vrihi rice . Satthiya, mentioned in the Nisîtha Bhashya list was a kind of rice which took sixty days to ripening. The 7th century Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang actually refers to this kind of rice, which was ready for cutting in sixty days. This kind of rice is also mentioned by both Susruta and Caraka , as Shashtika. According to Cakrapani, the commentator of Carakasamhita sali ripened in the month of demanta (Oct. - Nov.), Shashtika in the summer months and Wrihi in autumn. An inferior variety of rice called koddava, as we have already seen in mentioned in the above quoted passage. This was meant for the consumption of the poor people, and it is also referred to in the Angavijia quite prominently. It is also mentioned by Susruta and is called a rice of the poor people. Kangu. mentioned in the above list of Nisitha Bhashya, is according to the Susruta, a kind of Shashtika rice. Yet another kind of rice viz. syamaka is mentioned both in the Adipurana and the Yasastilaka of This particular variety it is interesting to Somadeva. note, is also mentioned by Kalidasa in his Abhlinasakuntalam According to Susruta, svamaka is an inferior type of rice.

Wheat was also eaten by people of earlier times and its general name was godhuma. It is mentioned for

the first time in the later Vedic texts. It is <u>frugality</u>

98

mentioned in the <u>Brhatsamhita</u> and according to Kautilya,

it should be sown at the end of the season. The <u>Nisitha Curni</u>

shows intimate acquintance not only with wheat (prakrit gohuma)

100

but refers to traders dealing in wheat. A number of food

preparations were made from wheat like <u>khajjaga</u>, <u>mandaga</u> etc.

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The Jain <u>Angavijia</u> also mentions wheat. Yuan Chwang, it is

interesting to note, mentions wheat grown in Takka i.e. central

103

Punjab.

Yava or barley was also considered like 104
wheat and rice as a staple food. The Angavijia mentions it 105
and it is also known to much earlier authorities, including the poets of the Rg. Veda. It is natural that the Jain authors should show their intimate acquaintance with this particular agricultural product. The Nisitha Curni not only 106, 107 knows but refers to various food preparations from it. Saktu 108
and apupas are specifically mentioned. Saktu, however, was popular food item from much earlier times and even the 109
Rksamhita knows it. Haribhadra's Samaraiccakaha and 111
Somadeva's Yasastilakacampu mentions this very popular food product.

Various types of pulses were widely cultivated in the early period. In the <u>Nisitha Bhashya</u> list, mentioned above, we have several varieties. <u>Mugga</u> is mentioned in almost all our earlier texts and the Jain authors also have 112 mentioned it. The <u>Angavijia</u> mentions it in its very useful

and detailed list of agricultural products. Another early Jain authority viz. Vimala's Paumacariyam has mentioned Spis the particular pulse which was widely cultivated. According to Kautilya, mudga and masa should be sown only after the rains. It is mentioned several times in the Brhatsamhita The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> of Udyotana, composed in Raka 700, mentions this particular agricultural product and it is also referred to by Jinadasa . Regarding masha pulse, Jinadasa gives us the interesting story according to which a soup of the masha pulse was mistaken as that of flies by a school boys. The Brhatsembita repeatedly refers to it . It is also mentioned in the Arthasastra of Kautilya. Vimala in his Paumacariyam mentions it several Several other types of pulses including masura falisamdal, nipphava, harimamtha (gram), tavari, kulattha, kalaya, canaka etc., are also mentioned in the Jain texts of our period. Some of are also mentioned in the list of food grains given in the Nisitha Bhashva , quoted above. The Angavijia refers to pulses like masura, canaka, nipphava, kulattha, kalaya etc., some of shich have also been mentioned by Hemacandra in his Abhidhanacintamoni. They are masura (lentil), midga (kidney-bean), masha (black-gram) canaka (chick pea) kalaya (pea). It should be remembered that both Hemacandra and the author of the Angavijja lived in Western India and it is quite natural for them to mention identical field crops,. The Brhatsamhita also knows masura, kataya , kulattha, canaka etc.

Ikshu (sugar-cane) was another very popular

agricultural product. All the earlier authorities including
127 128 129 130
Panini, Kautilya, Kalidasa etc., refer to it. The Brhatsamhita
131
not only refers it, but also mentions sugar-cane forests

called Ikshuvana. According to Kautilya, the cultivation

of sugar-cane is vary difficult for they are subject to various
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evils and require much care and expenditure to reap. The

Nisitha Bhashya list, quoted above, mentions ikshu and the

Nisitha Gurni not only knows ikshu but also shows acquaintance
133
with ikshu jamta (juice-extracting machine).

Various products such as guda (treacle)

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phanita (inspissated juice of sugarcane), khanda (unrefined

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137

sugar), sarkara (granulated sugar) and macchandiva (sugar

candy) etc. were made out of the sugarcane. Two varieties

of guda viz., chidaguda have also been mentioned. Macchandiva,

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according to Caraka and Susruta, was a kind of sugar-candy,

the crystals of which, were round in shape, like a fish's egg.

Earlier authorities like Kautilya also mention these varieties

140

of sugar.

*This Sugar was used to prepare different kinds of mouth-watering sweets and cakes. Out of these, apupas or puvas (cakes made of rice or barley-meal and cooked in clarified butter over a show fire) appears to have been most popular. The puvas were sold at the confectioner's shop, which 141 was specially known as puvivaghara. Ghavapunna or ghavapura

or havipuya (Skt. havishpupa) was another st sweet preparation made with fine wheat flour mixed with milk and fried in ghee. According to Susruta, small pieces of coconut Jinadasa, the author of the Nisitha were also added to it. Curni mentions several other sweet-meats like ittage (probably made from barley mixed with ghee and molasses), 147 khajjagas, mandagas. (sweet-balls prepared from rice laddugas flour or pulse), tila-modagas (sweet-balls made with sesamum puvaligas or puvigas (small cakes of rice or wheat-flour), <u>sashkuli</u> or <u>parpati</u> etc. However, the most 152 favourite sweet-dish was <u>pavasa</u> (made of milk) which was commonly served during feasts.

Yuan Chwang also mentions the cultivation of sugarcane very significantly at Kausambi, as we have already noted earlier.

Other agricultural products included the cultivation of oil-seeds and oil (tella) was commonly used as a substitute for butter or ghee. Some of the oil-seeds mentioned are atasi 154 (linseed), eranda (castor-seeds), ingudi 156 157 158 sarshapa (mustard) and tila (sesamum). Sesamum oil(kharasanha) was extensively used. That mustard oil, too, was a fairly common cooking medium, amongst the people, is also borne out by the testimony of Yuan Chwang, himself.

Amongst other form produce, a large variety

of fruits and vegetables have been mentioned by Jinadasa.

The list of fruits include the following: a) amalaka,

- b) amra, amba or rasala (mango), c) badara, d) cinca(tamarind),
- e) dadima (pomegranate), f) draksha, muddita or mrdvika (grapes)
- g) kadali or kayalaka (banana), h) kapittha, i) karamarda,
- j) karira, k) kharjura (dates), 1) matulunga, m) talaphala
- n) temduga, and udumbara. Undoubtedly the mango was the most popular fruit, though eater in great quantity caused cholera (visūcikā) . Various types of drinks and beverages were made fruits like mangoes, grapes, tamarind etc. Four distinct processes for ripening fruits have been mentioned in the sitha Curni. Those fruits like mangoes were ripened by covering them with husk and straw (imdhana) . Fruits like temdriga and others underwent a leating process (cluma) for the purpose of ripening by being stored in hollows in the ground. Another method of ripening involved the mixing of the raw fruits with ripe ones (gandha). Lastly, fruits which ripened naturally on trees (vaccha) . The forests yielded a rich harvest of fruits, and the people transported them to villages and towns in carts or wagons.. India, in the early medieval period grew a rich variety of fruits is also evident from the description of Yuan Chwang, that learned Chinese pilgrim .

Vegetables, too, were an important items of the diet and ahara (food) eater with vegetables was believed

to be easily digested. An interesting list of vegetables is given in the <u>Misitha Curni</u>. These are: a) alabu or lau, b) asuri, c) kalaya (field-pea), d) kovidara, e) kusimbha (safflower), f) lasuna (garlic root), g) mulaga (radish), h) nimba (Margosa tree), i) nipphāva (flat beans), j) palamdu (onion), k) sana, 1) sarisava (mustard), m) niluppala (blue lotus) and n) valumka (cucumber).

Ieafy vegetables were generalised as sake or sage. Certain vegetables, like onion (palamdu) and garlic (lashura) were abhorred by the Jains. This distaste for the above two vegetables may be traced to even earlier times. Fa-hien, another Chinese traveller who visited India during the Gupta period, informs us that onion and garlic were eaten only by Candalas. The contemporary Chinese travellers, Yuan Chwang, and I-tsing also note that the people generally avoided the consumption of ofnion and garlic.

Thus, we see that the Jain works of our period not only given us an invaluable picture of the system of agriculture adopted by the people of early medieval India, but also of the wide range of crops harvested by them.

Section (ii) : Trade and Commerce (Internal)

Trade formed an integral part of the economic life of the ancient Indians from very early times. that our earliest traders were Panis, It has been claimed mentioned in the Rgvedic literature. That some sort of trade was in vogue, in the early Vedic period, is proved by passages, according to which an image of Indra could be bought by ten However, it is in the Atharvaveda that we find a more cows. clear picture of commercial life. A particular hymn of that text 169 is directed to procuring success in trade. The word 'vanija' meaning the son of vanij in the Vajasaneji Samhita proves the existence of a hereditary business community, 170 during the time of the composition of the later Vedic texts. As the authors of the Vedic Index have observed the haggling in the market was already familiar in the days of the Rgveda,

The two epics show that trade and commerce had attained a very developed stage during the time of their composition. Thus the city of Ayodhya has been described in the Ramayana as inhabited by merchants of different countries (nanadesanivasaisca Vanigbhih) and the city of Mathura has been recognised as a great trading centre, the shops (apana) brimming with commodities and inhabited by a large member of people, including traders.

The Mahabharata not only refers to traders in general but also to the sarthas, who used to go to distant places with their commodities. We are further told that the leader of these sarthas was known as sarthavaha. 175 We further learn that the team of the sarthas, led by the sarthavaha bed domesticated animals like cows, donkeys, camels, horses with them. Apparently, these animals carried the wares, belonging to the party. It is also interesting to note that vanij and sartha are recognised here as interchangeable words.

Therefore it is apparent that in very early times the traders, or more correctly sarthas, led by sarthavahas were responsible for carrying on inter-state trade in India.

the Jatakas, and also the Jain canonical texts refer repeatedly to big business magnates, who were called setthis. One such merchant was Anathapindika of Sravasti, who was not only a great businessman, but also at the same time, an influential personality of Prasenajit's kingdom. We have also references to some other prominent merchants of Varanasi and Rajagrha in the Pali literature. The expression janapada-setthi in a Jataka story proves that in the villages also there were people of this class. The Jatakasoften refer to the Satthavahas with 500 caravans and we have the expression culla or cullakasetthis in the Jatakas.

to wealthy traders. One such trader or merchant was Ananda of Vaniyagama (near Vaisali). 179

Another satthavaha was Dhanna mentioned in the Nayadhammakahao. 180

A third merchant (vanie) was Palita of Campa who went, according to the Uttaradhyayana 181 to a town called Pihunda by a big ship (pota, Prakrit poa). The merchant (satthavaha) Dhanna, who belonged to Campa, we are told, went to Ahicchatra (Ahicchatta) for business. 182

This shows that even in Mahavira's time, merchants undertook long business trips. Such examples can easily be multiplied, both from Buddhist and the Jain canonical texts.

The Arthasastra of Kautilya also throws considerable light on the internal trade of India in the Mauryan period. The important commodities included blankets (for which Nepala 183 was famous), dukula (for which Vanga, 184), other types of cotton (for which Varanasi, Mathura, Aparanta, Kalinga, Vatsa, Mahisha etc., were famous), and various types of diamonds, borses, wines etc. It is apparent from the Arthasastra that almost all the important janapadas and towns were commercially connected with one another.

The <u>Paumacariyam</u> of Vimala also contains a lot of information on internal trade and commerce.

The <u>sarthavahas</u> are mentioned and we are told that they had to traverse dreadful forests. Elsewhere we have words like <u>vaniva</u> (trader), ¹⁸⁷ vanija ¹⁸⁸ (trade) and <u>avana</u> ¹⁸⁹ (Sanskrit <u>apana</u> meaning shop or market). Dealers ¹⁹⁰ in liquid, poison and gems have been mentioned. Rajagrha ¹⁹¹ has been represented like the Buddhist and Jain canonical texts as a great centre of trade and commerce. In one place, ¹⁹² a merchant of Gajapura (Hastinapura) has been described as visiting Saketa (Ayodhya), loading his merchandise on male-buffaloes.

In the Gupta period also, as the evidence supplied by Kalidasa, 194 proves, there was intense trading activity all over India. In one passage of the Raghuvamsa, 195 the mineral resources of Kamarupa have been mentioned.

Elsewhere in the same poem, 196 the pearl-fisheries of Tamraparni have been referred to. Both Kautilya 197 and Kalidasa have mentioned Kalinga as the source of elephants. This proves that in other towns and markets of India the above-mentioned things and domesticated animals were regularly traded.

The Jain texts of our period also supply a lot of information on internal trade and commerce of India. The Nisitha Curni 199 refers to two main types of training centres, namely jalapattana (pattana) and

thalapattanas (Sthalapattana). Purima 200 and Diva 201 cited as the classic types of Jalapattana. Anandapura 202 in Gujarat is referred to as a good example of sthalapattana. As the name indicates, the Sthalapattanas were trading centres, situated far from water-ways. Another type of trading centres namely the Dronamukhas, which were served both by land and water are mentioned in the same text. 203 The <u>Vrtti</u> on <u>Brhatkalpa</u> states that Bhrgukaccha and Tamralipta are two examples of Dronamikha towns. The Nisitha Curni further gives the very significant information that the nigamas are exclusively in habited by merchants (vaniya). In this connection, it should be pointed out, that the term nigama itself means a caravan or company of merchants. 206 The <u>Putabhadana</u> is explained in the <u>Nisitha Curni</u> 207 as trade emporiums, where the packages of the trade articles were received and sold.

mentioned by Jinadasa, namely those brought from villages within the state and those from other kingdoms. Similarly, the merchants also belonged to two different groups, namely who had their own shops and who had no definite shops (Vivani). The latter were wandering merchants, who travelled from village to village selling their commodities. Joint enterprise in trade (sambhaga) has also been mentioned and epigraphs repeatedly mention several types of guilds.

This text also lays stress on or corporate bodies. caravan-trade, one which we have already made some It has been observed that sometimes the observation. sarthavahas were senior trade officers and the state bore some responsibility for the safety of the merchants under their leader, namely the sarthavaha. The Nisitha Curni 211 it is interesting to note, mentions five types of caravans (sattha), namely those who carried their goods by carts or waggons, those who used camels and bullocks to convey merchandise, those who carried loads by themselves, those who travelled from place to place and paid for their food and the Karpatika 212 ascetics. There is little doubt that the unprecedented prosperity of India, during this period was largely due to the activities of the sarthavahas and the organised guilds.

The Samaraiccakaha Haribhadra also gives us some more information on internal trade. In this connection it uses the word hatta²²³ in the sense of market, and even now, this word is used in slightly different forms in several vernaculars of India. In the Khalimpur copper plate²¹⁴ of Dharmapala (of the 8th century) we have the word hattika, which is the same as hatta. It is also apparent from the same work²¹⁵ of Haribhadra that agricultural products like wheat, rice, milk, ghee, vegetables and cotton products etc., were easily available in such markets or hattas.

The Brhatkalpabhashva²¹⁶ of Sanghadasa mentions Ujjayini and Surparaka as great centres of commerce.

According to it, Surparaka (modern Sopara in Maharashtra) was inhabited by 500 tradesmen (negama). The Avasyaka Curni²¹⁷ represents merchants of Mathura as going to Southern Mathura (Moducai) on business. We have already seen that even according to the Ramayana and the Paumacarivam, Mathura was a great centre of commerce. The same text, ²¹⁸ written by Jinadasa, mentions

Vasantapura (in Rajasthan) as a centre/merchants. Elsewhere in the Avasyaka Curni Dvaraka (Baravai) is mentioned as a centre of trade.

The <u>Knvalavamala</u>, another work of the 5th century, throws a flood of light on internal trade of India in those days. It not only refers to some great centres of trade like Surparaka, Vijapapuri, Pratishthana etc., but also on the items of trade. The word <u>hatta</u>, mentioned in the <u>Samaraiccakaha</u>, is also known to the author of this text, 219 and at the same time, it describes the <u>Virani-marga</u> (the main market road) of the city of Vinita (Ayodhya). In this road were shops of almost all available commodities 220 including food products, cotton, silk, ornaments, weapons, wine and various other things. A merchants of another place was usually very cordially welcomed by local merchants; as far example, the <u>Kuvalavamala</u> describes the hearty reception given to a merchant of Takshasila by his counterparts at Surparaka. This Particular

work also refers to the feeling of solidarity among the merchants of Surparaka. From the conversation 222 of those merchants, given in this text, we learn that the trademen of this place used to visit regions like Kosala, Uttarapatha, Purvadesa, Dvaraka, Bahharakula, Svarnadvipa, Cina, Mahacina, Ratna dvipa etc.

Several trade-routes are mentioned in the Kuvalavamala among which the following are important i) The route connecting Varanasi with Pratishthana on the Godavari 223 (ii) The road from Takshasila to Surparaka 224 (III) The road from Surparaka to Dvaraka225 (iv) The route from Rataliputra to Kausambi 226 (v) The road from Campa to Tamralipta²²⁷ (vi) Ayodhya to Sammeta mountain²²⁸ (Pareshnath hill in Giridih district, Bihar) (vii) The ancient route from Campa to Sravasti 229 (viii) Kakandi to Hastinapura 230 and (ix) Hastinapura to Rajagrha. 231 is little doubt that there were hundreds of other trade-routes, although the same text repeatedly refers to attacks by the aboriginal tribes. 232 The <u>Upamitibhavaprapancakatha</u> 233 another Jain text of the first quarter of the 10th century, refers to the fear of the memchants from the robbers. The Brhatkathakosa also refers to merchants being way-laid by robbers on highways. The Kathasaritsagara 254 often refers to the murderous attacks of Sabaras and Pulindas on traders on these roads.

The Brhatkathakosa of Harishena also
furnishes considerable data on trade in this country during
235
the early 10th century. A story entitled Carudattakatha
tells us that the merchant called Carudatta of Campa bought
a lot of Cotton (Karpasa) from Utkala country (Orissa)
in order to sell them in Tamralipta, the great port of Bengal.
It also refers to the activities of the Sarthas, who used
to operate in high road connecting Tamralipta with Orissa.
236
In several other places of the present work, we have stories
regarding the activities of merchants. According to one story
the Sarthvahas of Ujjayini used to visit Dakshinapatha for
trade. However, a number of stories show that the law and
order situation deteriorated considerably in the 10th century,
and even some of the well-known high-roads were infested
with decoits.

Somadeva in his Yasastilakacampu has also thrown some light on the internal trade conducted in 239 his time. For high commercial centre he has used the term painthasthana, which housed hundreds of separate shops. Such commercial centres were well-protected by the state authorities. 240 In his Nitivakyamrta also Somadeva has mentioned pintha and has further commented that well-maintained pinthas were a good source of revenue for the king. The same writer also 241 242 243 refers to Sarthavahas visiting Kalinga, Tamralipta, Yaudheya 244 Sankhapura (probably near Ayodhya) etc.

Trade and Commerce (External)

Indians had definite knowledge regarding the sea and the reference to the boats with hundred oars show that sophisticated, 246 big boats could be built indigenously. However, not much is known from either the Vedas, or the epics, regarding foreign trade, and it is only in the canonical texts of the Buddhists and the Jains, that we do get some idea regarding trade. The two great sea-ports of Western India, namely Bhrgukacca and Surpāraka are prominently mentioned in the Jatakas. The 248 Mahajanaka Jataka refers to the trade between Campa and Suvarna-bhumi and in another Jataka we have a reference to the sea-trade between Ehrgukaccha and Suvarnabhumi. It is therefore, clear that the early Indian traders used to visit Suvarnabhumi from both the coasts of India.

The Jain canonical work, namely 250

<u>Mayadhammakahao</u> shows acquaintance with sea-voyage and like 251
the <u>Mahajanaka Jataka</u>, it refers to the journey towards the

East Indies from Campa. We are told by the author of this text how a merchant called Arhannaga with other merchants went to the sea from Campa. Elsewhere in the same text, we get a vivid description of a ship-wreck. The merchant Tamali is 252 represented in the <u>Bhagavatī</u> as a resident of the port-city of Tamalitti. Thus we find that the three ports, namely Bhrgukacca, Surparaka and Tamralipta were used by sea-faring merchants even from the pre-Mauryan period.

That by the first century A.D., India played a lending part in international trade is proved beyond doubt by the very valuable evidence of the periplus, written hefore 80 A.D. That work not only mentions a number of sea-ports, but also humerous items of export and import. It is of great interest to note that among the types of Indian boats, mentioned in this work, at least three can be recognised in the Jain text, called the Angavijia. They are trappaga, cotymba and In the Angavijja we have the terms tappaka, kottimba and sanghada. It is of great interest to note that these boats are called 'large boats' by the author of the periplus, although according to the Angavijja, they are only boats of middle-size (majjhima-kava). The largest boats according to it, were nava (nava) and pota. The author of the Periplus mentions a very large vessel made of 'single logs bound together', called Colandia, which according to it, made voyages to Chryse (Malacca peninsula) and to the Ganges. There is no doubt that golandia was a pota type of merchant vessel, mentioned in the Angavijja and identical with the Ta- 259 large merchant ship' mantioned by Mhien, by which he left the share of Tamralipta for Ceylon.

That in the early Christian period,

India had a very favourable balance of trade with the Roman world is proved not only by the discovery of a large number 260 of Roman gold coins, but also by the testimony of the historian Pliny (1st century) who says that "in no year does India drain our empire of less than five hundred and fifty millions of sesterces ('equivalent to£1400,000 sterling'), giving back her own wares in exchange, which are sold among

us at fully one hundred times their prime cost". This statement from that famous Roman scholar is indirectly confirmed by the evidence of the author of the <u>Periplus</u>, who had a more close knowledge about both Indian shipping and trade.

The Jain texts of our period help us greatly in understanding the foreign trade policy of India in those days. The Nisitha Curni gives us some idea regarding India's external trade, in which ports like Bharukaccha (Sanskrit Bhrgukacca), Puni (not far from Goa), Diva (South Saurashtra), Prabhasa, Baravai (Dvaraka) played a prominent part. As already noticed, Bhrgukaccha (modern Bharauch in Gujarat and Barygaza of the Classical writers), emerged as a great city long before the beginning of the Christian era and the Periplus represents it as a part of supreme importance in the first century A.D. In other canonical Jain commentaries also this place is represented as an important port. The foreign merchants, according to the Nisitha Curni regularly came to this place for trade. The Muslim writer Al -Idrisi (12th century) mentions its connection with China and describes it as a handsome town . This shows that Bhrgukacck continued as a great trading centre upto a very late period. It is interesting that the boat called Cotymba mentioned both in the Periplus, and the Angavijia, is referred to as Kotthimba in the Nisitha Curni and represented as a small boat.

Haribhadra's <u>Samarāiccakahā</u> composed

probably in the 2nd quarter of the 8th century, has represented

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Indian traders as going to distant countries like Mahākatāha,

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Cīna, Simhala, Suvarnadvīpa and Ratnadvīpa. It should be

remembered that Katāha or Mahākatāha is also known to the

author of the <u>Kathāsaribsāgarā</u> who mentions it several

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times and it is the same as Kadāram of Tamil inscriptions

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and Katāksha of the <u>Brhatkathamanjarī</u>. It is now identified

with Kedah, in the West Aoast of the Malay peninsula.

Regarding Suvarnadvīpa we can say this much that its name
is preserved in the name of modern Sumatra.

Ratnadvipa has been woongly identified 281 by Motichandra in his <u>Sarthavaha</u> with Simhala. It should be remembered that the <u>Samarāiccakahā</u> of Haribhadra clearly mentions them as two different geographical units, as we have already seen above. The much earlier Jain canonical text, 282 namely the <u>Nāvadhammākahāo</u> represents a merchant of Campā as visiting Ratnadvipa, which suggests that it should be located somewhere is Burma or Malay.

The <u>Vasudevahindi</u> which is a somewhat earlier work, describes the journey of the sea-faring merchant Carudatta, who visited several adjoining foreign countries, including Yavadvipa, Simhala, Yavanadvipa and also the confluence of Sindhu and Sagara. So far as Yavadvipa is concerned, it is mentioned even by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D),

which suggests its colonisation much before Ptolemy's time.

The Kuvalayamala another 8th century Jain text, gives us a very faithful account of our early external trade. Several essential matters had to be completed before the departure of the ship. Firstly, the commodities to be taken in the ship, had to be collected and then the ship had to be properly built and decorated, and the merchandise had to be skilfully loaded on the ship. After that the astronomers had to be consulted for the auspicious moment and then other merchants, who wanted to go with the chief trader, were asked to board the ship. The Brahmins had to be fed and the favourite deities were invoked and then the fuel, food, sweet, water and other things were taken into the ship. That the sea-faring merchants had to satisfy the kings of foreign lands by giving proper gift is clear not only from this text, but also from Amaravati sculptures. The printings also show that the merchants had to keep local kings in good humour by giving them suitable gifts.

From ancient times the sea-faring

merchants had to face the challange of the pirates at sea.

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The Periplus, a work of the first century A.D., refers to

sea-pirates near Chersonesus, which identified with modern

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Karwar. These sea-pirates of the Arabian Sea have also been

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mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. Prof. Aiyangar is of

the opinion that piracy was stopped by the Chera kings between

80 and 222 A.D. However, even in the works of the later period, we are told about sea-piracy. The 7th-century Jain text the Nisitha Curni distinctly refers to the sea-pirates, who captured men and deprived them of their belongings and kept on moving in their large boats (nava) . The <u>Dasakumaracari</u> of Dandin refers to sea-piracy in the eastern-coast near Tamralipta (Damalipta of the text). The Kuvalavamala also mentions these sea-pirates by calling them Kusalacora, Al-Biruni, writing in 1030 A.D., also mentions the sea-pirates near the Gujarat coast. It has further been observed that because of them aggressive Arabs, the Indian merchants gradually gave up trading in the Western sea-coast and concentrated their attention only on the eastern sea-coast. However, the early 10th century Jain poem, the Brhatkathakosa refers to trade-connections with Ratnadvipa. This work also mentions Indian traders as going to Simhaladvipa (Ceylon) for the sake of obtaining more wealth. It is interesting to note that in another place of this text, Simhaladvipa has been correctly described as situated near Dravida (present Tamil Nadu), which also contradicts Motichandra's identification of Simhala with Ratnadvipa. As we have already seen, the Brhatkathakośa also distinguishes Ratnadvipa from Simhala (Lanka). The commercial intercourse between Simhala and Ujjayini is also referred to in this text .

The <u>Tilakamanjari</u> of Dhanapala, written a little after 1000 A.D., portrays a very realistic picture

of sea-voyage. However, the voyage, described by Dhanapala has not much to do with trade. However, it proves that India was a great naval power in the 11th century and this is also corroborated by the naval victories of Rajaraja I and Rajendra 303 Cola.

Indian traders also used overland routes to reach other countries. As early as 126 B.C., there was a trade route, which linked Southern China through upper Burma 304 with Bactria. There was an overland route connecting Assam 305 with China, and another route, used by Buddhist monks 306 which connected Bihar, Tibet and China. Regarding the north-west route, it can be said with certainty, that it was used as early as the days of the Achaemenian emperors and Indian literature contains a list of articles which were 307 obviously imported through this north-west route.

We get from the Jain Harivanda of

Jinasena II, composed in 783 A.D., some idea regarding the

most difficult trade-route that connected India with Burma

and other far-off territories, east of Burma. According to

this account, the merchant Carudatta with his uncle Rudradatta

went to Suvarnadvipa after crossing the river Arravati,

which is no doubt the present Irrawaddy in Burma. This is

undoubtedly the earliest Indian literary references to this

great river, which was named after the famous Iravati of the

Punjab. That this route was extremely difficult and full of

rugged mountaines, is also indicated in this poem. It appears

that afterwards this eastern overland route became more popular with the Indian merchants.

According to the Nisitha Curni also the great navigable rivers such as the Ganges, Yamuna, Sarayu, Eravati, Mahi, Sindhu, Venna or Kanhavenna etc., as well as the sea provided a very useful means of water transport which immensely encouraged trading activities of those days. Jalapattanas, as noted before, were large commercial towns where trade was carried via such water routes, The Gujarat region, as we have seen, was particularly famous for its maritime activities which has prompted even Yuan Chwang to remark: "As the Saurastra country is on the western searoute, the men all derive their livelihood from the sea and engage in commerce and exchange of commodities. 312 According to the Manju-Sri-Mulakalpa, 313 a contemporary Buddhist work, the people of Valabhi crossed the sea to reach the place, Sura. While emphasizing the economic prosperity of Valabhi, Dandin in his Dasakumaracarita states that ships were owned even by private individuals in that well known city.

In spite of the dangers and difficulties confronting them, the merchants undanated fractivity pursued their trading activities, both inland and overseas, thereby playing a vital role in the economic prosperity of early medieval India.

Section (iii) : Coins

At the outset, it should be pointed out that in this period not many ruling dynasties of India issued gold coins. After the fall of the Guptas only a few rulers actually issued coins in gold. We have some gold coins of the post-Cupta from eastern India and especially Bengal. 315 A few gold coins of this period have also been discovered from U.P. 316 A few debased gold coins of Sasanka and Harsha It appears that Kalacuris are also known , and for Harsha Gangeya, (1015-1040) who ruled in the first half of the 11th century, regularly issued gold voins. He placed four-armed Lakshmi on one side and his name Srigangeyadeva in three lines in bold Nagari letters on the other. 319 Candella, Gahadavala and Kashmir kings imitated Gangeya's coins. It should further be remembered that Gangeya's coins exist in all three metals. The Kalacuri kings of South Kosale also issued gold coins. 320

Regarding silver coins of this period, the position is much better. We have not only silver coins of Maukharis and the Verhal but also probably Pratihara

Vatsaraja. But the most remarkable series of silver coins of this period was issued by Kalacuri Krshnaraja, who flourished immediately after the Gupta period. His coins have been found mostly from Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat and parts of M.P. These coins are close imitations of

Kshatrapa coins which are mentioned in the Angevijia, a

Jain text of the Gupta period. That the Krshnaraja coins
were in circulation for more than hundred is proved by the
fact that it is mentioned in Anjaneri plates dated Kalacuri

461 (710-11 A.D).

After Krshnaraja-rupaka, we should mention the well-known Adivarahadramya issued by Pratihara Bhoja I, who ruled in the 9th century A.D. 325 It is interesting to note that in the first Siyadoni inscription, we have reference to the Adivaraha Dramya the the alleyed silver coins of Bhoja I. It also refers to Figraham It is of some interest to note that this epigraph refers to several silver and copper coins, which were current in Northern India in the 9th century, during the Pratihara rule.

not only contain general reference to several types of coins, but also sometimes throw valuable light on coins of different regions. Let us take note of the gold coins mentioned in early medieval Jain literature. The most valuable coin of this period was undoubtedly the dinara, which is mentioned practically in all important Jain works, not to mention the Brahmanical texts. An earlier reference dinara literature of our period is preserved in the 7th century Brhatkalpabhashva which refers to its popularity in eastern India. In several places of Haribhadra's Samaraiccakaha this particular

coin is pointedly mentioned. Elsewhere also in his Dharmabindu 329 Haribhadra shows his acquaintance with this coins. Haribhadra 330 regards dinara as the costliest coin. It should be remembered here that as early as the days of the composition of the Kalpasutra 331 this particular coins The next important Jain work to refer to name was known. it, is the well-known Angavijia, which mentions it along with other coins. The expression Dinari found here, reminds us of the same word in a 3rd-century Nagarjurikonda Inscription. In both these places we have the earlier expression which is, much closer to Roman damania In the inscriptions of the Gupta period, the name dinaradoration and to earlier name Suvarna appear side by side. In the 7th-century <u>Dasakumaracabita</u>, there is a reference to the discovery of a buried treasure consisting of numerous dinaras (apparently made of gold). Elsewhere in the same work 356 there is a reference to sixteen thousand dinaras (also apparently gold coins). The Uttarapurana of Gunabhadra refers to dinara coins. The Dharmapode samala of Jayasimha, which was written in V.S. 915, during the reign of Pratihara Bhoja makes pointed reference to dinara coins.338 The relevant passages prove that the author had golden dinara in mind.

It should be remembered that early
Kushana and Gupta gold coins along with the heavier imported
dinares (that both gold and silver coins were imported from

from outside is proved by the evidence of the relevant were still in use. However if we analize the relevant passages of the Jain texts, me will aind that in most cases the reference to dinara, are in connection with the stories of the past. There is practically no reference to any contemporary gold coin in any Jain text of our period. This indirectly proves that practically no gold coin was struck in this period in Northern India. This was the case also in the South. 340

Regarding <u>Euvarna</u>, it should be pointed out that originally it weighed 144 grains. The Kuvalayamala refers to Suvarnas. 342 However much more exciting is the reference to Suvarna time in Prabandhacintamani in connection with the description of Paramara Bhoja's munificence. 343 Paramara Bhoja himself never struck any nomey much less lphaSuvarna coin, it can be conjectured that hw definitely used the gold coins, struck by his contemporary Gangeyadeva. We should remember that Merutunga the author of the has mentioned dinara and suvarna, Prabandhacintamani in connection with Vikramaditya (probably Candragupta II) and <u>Šuvarnatanka</u> while describing the liberality of Paramara Bhoja. Obviously Auvarnatanka was a coin of smaller weight and value. Its actual weight was 61 grains, The tanikas of Gangeya are also indirectly mentioned that in the Rewa Stone inscription of Vijayasimha. (1193 A.D.) 347

The Angavija, which was written just before the beginning of our period, contains the names of a few other gold coins like <u>Suvarnamashaka</u> (p.66), <u>Dinara-mashaka</u>, (p.66), <u>Suvarna-kakani</u> (p.72) etc. 348 As shown by V.S. Agrawala, these were the names of the coins of smaller weight. The evidence of Kautilya (II-19) suggests that <u>mashaka</u> was 1/16th of the weight of <u>Suvarna</u> or in other words, 5 rattis. The <u>dinaramashaka</u> was similarly the submultiple of a <u>dinara</u> coin and probably somewhat heavier than <u>suvarna-mashakas</u>. <u>Suvarna-kakani</u> was 1/4th of <u>mashaka</u> and 2.25 grains in weight. 550 However, no specimens of actual <u>mashaka</u> or <u>kakani</u> has ever been found.

The Jain Brhatkalpasutrabhashva written 351 (II, 1969) pointedly mentions the golden nanaka coin; but regarding its actual weight we have no knowledge. It appears that nanaka was another name of Suvarna and this coin existed in all the metals. 352

Regarding silver coins, we have the earlier evidence of the Angavijia, which mentions different types of silver Karsapanas called Vttama, (p.215), Madhyama (p.215) and jaghnya, (p.215) and also for the first time mentions, two coin-names, viz., Satenaka (p.66) and Khattapaka (p.66). As well known, the Kashapanas or the panas were the punch-marked coins which were in circulation in India from quite early times and were practically never

Withdrawn. The Angavijia mentions both the earlier Karshapanas called administration and the recent Karshapanas called bala or navakahavana (p.215). The same authority asserts that admilakahavana were also called Puranas

(p.215). The Purana coins are mentioned in a record of Huviska, dated year 28, corresponding to 106 A.D.

In the earlier epigraphs of India, like the inscriptions of Nahapana, and of the Satavahanas, we have references to karshapanas. The Nanaghat inscription proves that a huge number of karshapanas were in circulation in prechristian times in India.

The new or bala karshapanas mentioned in the Angavijia probably refer to the silver and copper coins, which were struck immediately before the time of the composition of the Angavijia. However, the author of the Angavijia has a new term for the silver coins which were issued by the Sakas of Djjayini viz., Khattapaka. As the name indicates, they were issued by the Ksatrapas. Prof.

C. D. Chatterjee has drawn our attention to the term Rudradamaka, the name of a class of coins issued by Rudradamana, who ruled in the 1st century A.D., and mentioned by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the suttavibharga. According to Buddhaghosa, who flourished in the Gupta period, the coin of Rudradamana and his successors (Rudradamakali) was 3/4th in weight of the ancient karshapana; Buddhaghosa further says that the earlier karshapana, called by him Nilakahapana

was equal to 20 mashakas. The earlier karshapanas were apt to excessive wear and tear, and due to the deposit of verdigris on the surface, they were fittingly nicknamed as Milakahapana. Probably by the time of Buddhaghosa, these coins were thousand-year old. There is no doubt that the Kshatrapa coins, mentioned by the author of the Angavijia, are identical with Andradamaka coins, mentioned by Buddhaghosa. These coins were made of silver and we learn from a particular taka inscription that the value of 35 silver karshapanas was equal to one Angavina. In this connection we should further remember that the average weight of a silver coin of the early centuries of the Christian era was roughly 1/4th of the gold coin, viz. Euvarna of the same period, especially gold issues of the Imperial Kushanas.

The reference to sateraka coins in the Angavilia (p.66) is of great interest. The word sateraka comes from Greek Stater. Stater was a gold coin of 133.2 grains. It has been argued that according to an earlier literary text. Adinaras was equal to one sateraka. This particular information is found in the Sphutartha commentary of Abhidharmakosha of Vasubandhu. This is also confirmed by Mahaviracarya, the Jain author of Garitasarsangraha, who flourished in the 9th century A.D.

We have already seen that in our period silver coins were more popular than the coins made of other metals. The <u>Brhatkalpasutrabhasya</u>, (II, 1969) probably

written in the 7th century, mentions the dramma of Bhillamala, which was in Rajasthan. That work further states that this dramma was known as silver nanaka.366 However, to designate silver drammas, in the early medieval period, the term rupaka was often used. It occurs in the Kuvalayamala which mentions in the relevant passage one lakh rupakas (sata-sahassa). A very interesting coin-name probably of silver is found in the early 10th-century work, the Brhatkathakosa, called varmala (or varmalya). According to the relevant passage, with this coin a full-size rohita fish could be bought (adaya rohitam minamyarmalyena). The same coin is also mentioned in story no. 40. In the latter story a gambler named Nirlakshana wins even the cowries (Kapardakas) used by the gamblers and gives them to beggars. A little later the gamblers request Nirlakshana to return the cowried to them for plenty of money in the form of varmalas, which suggest that it is the name of silver coins. The surmise is fully justified by the evidence of a much earlier work viz. The Nisitha Curni (7th century) of Jinadasa, according to which vammalatas was the silver coin of Bhillamala. According to Prof. D. Sharma it was a smaller silver coin, probably issued by a ruler called Varmalata of Bhollamala, who is known from the Vasantagarh Inscription of 625 A.D. (V.S. 682) Varmala is also preserved in Magha's Sisupalabadha, according to which this king was the patron of the poet's grandfather called Suprabhadeva. Therefore, it is

quite likely that king <u>Varmala</u>, also called Varmalata, was responsible for the silver issues mentioned in the <u>Nisitha Curni</u> and the <u>Brhatkathakośa</u>.

The evidence of the Upamitabhavaprapancakatha

(906 A.D.) show that <u>rupaka</u> was a popular coin in the early medieval period. 373 Its evidence the popularity of rupaka coins is fully confirmed by Allata's inscription of Vikrama 1010³⁷⁴ (Bhahdarakar No. 67) which proves that in the middle of the 10th century one rupaka was equal to 1/2 dramma 375 The Nisitha Curni 376 further informs us that the rupakas or <u>ruvagas</u> of different regions were usually named often after that region and their value differed from region to region. We get names like Uttarapahe a, Padaliputtaga, Dakshinapahaga which denoted the rupakas of these places. The rupaka of Kancipuri was called nelao or nelaka. Jinadasa even mentions the relative value of the rupakas of the different regions making the silver coin of Pataliputra the standard . For example two rupakas of Dakshinapatha was equal to one nelaka-ruvaga of Kancipuri, whereas two nelakas of Kancipuri were equal to one rupaka of Pataliputra.

The copper coins are mentioned in the Brhatkalpasutrabhashya (II, 1969), according to which, the copper coins of Dakshinapatha were known as kakini.

[akinis are also mentioned in Jinesvara's Kathakosa,

composed in early 11th century. The Kakini coin is mentioned in the Angavijia (p.72), and also earlier work

like the Arthasastra. It was 1/4th of mashaka.

Vimsopaka, mentioned in the Siyadoni and other inscriptions, according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, was a copper coin and it value was 1/20th of dramya. Kapardakavodi mentioned in Shergarh inscription (1018 A.D.) was 1/4th of a copper pana. That cowries still were used for buying and selling commodities during this period, is proved by the testimony of Jinadasa's Misitha Curni. It is interesting to note that both the Chinase pilgrims, viz., Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang mention that cowries were used as a medium of exchange. The Arab traveller, Sulaiman, who visited Gujarat in 851 A.D., also observed that 'shells are current in this region and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver'.

Flourishing trade and commerce with foreign countries resulted in a rich coinage in precious metals, such as gold and silver as well as ordinary copper coins. The variety of coinage moreover testifies to the economic prosperity of this period.

Section (iv) : <u>Professional Classes</u>

Various professional classes have been mentioned in both the narrative and non-narrative Jain works of our period. As a result of the increase of population,

the society was gradually drifting towards a new type of caste-system viz., that pased on economic grounds. The old division of society in four castes viz., Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra became somewhat redundant. The priestly class could not afford to stick only to their old teaching and sacrificial duties. The Kshatriyas also felt that they must enlarge their professional outlook. The Vaisyas, who formerly were engaged in agriculture, gradually found that trade was a much more lucrative professiona. And the Sudras also divided themselves into smaller professional groups. It further appears, that after the Gupta period, no Sudra cared to serve the twiceborn as dictated by the various Smrti writers. Let us now turn out attention to those professional classes listed in Jain works, who depended on their skill for their livilihood. It should, however, be remembered that the professional classes, mentioned in the Jain works were not different from those mentioned in non-Jain literature. However, we sometimes get some new type of information from texts. us start with the Kumbhakaras (potters).

The guild of potters is mentioned in the Nasik Cave Inscription of Isvarasena, year 9 (Kalacuri) 386A corresponding to 258-59 A.D. There is little doubt that the potters played probably the most important part in the economic life of the Indian society from the earliest period. In the list of eighteen professional groups, mentioned in

the Jain Upanga text Jambudvipaprajnapti they are given the foremost place. That a few potters of earlier period enjoyed great prosperity is proved by the story of the Jain Anga text Upasakadasa which speaks of an exceedingly affluent potter called Saddalaputta, who owned 500 potter --shops employing numerous workers, who received regular wages (bhattaveyana). It is evident from this text that Saddalaputta was the leader of a potter s guild (sreni). The Bhagavati389 informs us of a potter women of Sravasti, who was a lay devotee of Gosala, and apparently a person of affluence. The Nisitha Curni 390 gives a deal of information about postery and potter-shops of the 7th century. We are told that five appartments were required for the work of a potter (i) Panivasala was the place where the potters or the merchants sold the earthenware pottery (ii) bhandasala was the store-house for storing the vessels (iii) kammasala was the room where the pots were moulded (iv) payanasala, where the pots were baked (v) imdhanasala, the room where fuel-like grass or dung, required for baking the pots, was stored.

The same work also gives a detailed description of the process which was followed in making the earthenware pottery. We are further told that the potters either gave their wares to the merchants on getting a little profit or sold it to the customers directly. A tax of 1/20th part was charged from the potters on the

pots taken to the neighbouring village for sale. 394 This proves that it was a profession, which was fully recognised by the government. Kautilya recommends a tax of 5 karas (about 50 panas) for the potters. 395 This was considered a very negligible amount compared to the taxes imposed on goldsmiths, on those dealing with liquor, medicines, metals etc. The Mahabhasya of Patanjali contains the interesting expression mahakumbhakara which probably means a very efficient and opulent potter. Needless to say, Saddalaputta was one such mahakumbhakara.

The goldsmiths played a quite prominent part in the economic life of our people from very early times. Reference to various ornaments in the Egyeda and latter Vedic texts how that the goldsmiths were quite active from the days of the samhitas. They are very prominently described in the epics and Puranas. In the list of professions, given in the Jain Jambudvipaprainapti their name is conspicuous by its presence. Kautilya in his Arthasastra species a very elaborate description of the work done by goldsmiths. The goldsmiths according to Kautilya should have a thorough knowledge of the species, characteristic, colour, weight and formation of all types of metals. That Indian goldsmiths were quite expert in their work in the post-Cupta period, is vouchsafed by Yuan

Chwang who has praised the gold and silver vessels of India for their exquisite workmanship. The Jain works of our period give a very long and useful list of different ornaments produced in those days. The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> of Udyotana gives the names of no less than forty six different types of ornaments. They are mentioned below: 1. atta-kamthayabharana (II. 22), which is explained by Upadhye as silver necklace. 2. avatamsa (1. 14) a kind of ring-shaped ornament or it may mean simply an ear-ring. 404 3. ratnakanthika (1.11) and 4. Kenthika (182.24; 187.28), both of which ware ornaments meant for the neck of either sex. 5. kataka (14.29) has been explained as a bracelet of gold by M. M. Williams. 405 6. Katisutra (25.6) meant a girdle 7. manikka-kataka (30.3) and 8. lalamana-kataka (187.28) were two varieties of bracelets. 9. Kanci and 10. kanirakanci (254.14) were work round the waist; the Kanira-kanci has been explained as a smaller type of girdle. 406 11. Karnaphula (\$57.16; 160.10) is an ear-ornament 12. Kińkini (255.21) is a small bell 13. Kundala (53.21; 93.9), 14. manikundala and 15. ratnakundala were all ornaments for the ear. A close study of ancient Indian paintings and sculptures reveal that there were numerous varieties of ear-ornaments. 407 16. jalamala (255.31) was probably a net-like ornament 17. dama (113.10) in the text means an ornament of the neck. The Adipurana, as pointed out by Suman Jain 409 mentions mekhaladama and kancidama. 18. damilla

(254.4), the meaning of this particular term is not clear. 19. <u>nupura</u> (14. 29; 166.28) 20. <u>maninupura</u> (157.30; 234.8) were both ornaments worn on the feet. 21. patala (113.10) the meaning of this word is also not clear. 22. mahamukuta (9.1; 198.10) was probably a special type of crown 23. <u>mala (14.8), 24. muktavali (182.24) 25. muktahara</u> (6.23%, 232.9) 26. mekhala (50.17; 153.30 and 255.21) and 27. manimekhala were well-known ornaments. In the Amarakosa muktavali is also called kavali. Somadeva in his Yasastilakacampu 411 also calls it ekavali. Manimekhala was work around the waist and it appears from the <u>Yasastilakacampy</u> Adipurana 413 that small bells were tied with these mekhalas. Other ornaments mentioned in the Kuvalavamala are 28. ratnavali (83.24) 29. ratnalankara (190.26); 30. rasana (83.14; 232.10) 31. manirasana (25.5; 85.9) 32. runnamala (11.22), 33. vanamala (114.10; 246.21); 34. Valava (2.22; 4.29; 7.11), 35. manivalava (1.2) 36. Xaijavantimala (194.10) 37. Evarnajati tamaharatna (8.24); 38. Euvarna (7.28); 39. hara (24.21; 83.14; 161.25) 40. haravali (254.15) 41. Livasutta (11.16) 42. Cakkala (83.9); 43. Calanapatta (212.12); 44. manikkapatta, (84.14) 45. Nalakkahalai (83.4) and daruna (25. 14-15). Of these ornaments ratnavali is also mentioned in the Adipurana. 414 Both vanamala and vaijavantimala were different types of ornaments of the neck. Several ornaments mentioned in the Kuvalayamala are also referred to in Haribhadra's Samaraiccakaha,

several references to <u>kundala</u>, 415 <u>kataka</u>, 416 <u>ratnavali</u>, 417 <u>manimekhala</u> and a few other ornaments. Such a wide variety of ornaments clearly illustrate the importance of the goldsmith's profession in this period.

Like the potters and goldsmiths, weavers also were an indispensable part of the economic life of the country. From Kautilya, it becomes clear that weavers working in government establishments were regularly paid. Several types of persons like widows, mothers of prostitutes (rupajivah) old women, cripple women, women ascetics, maid-servants of the king etc., worked under the superintendent of weaving (sutradhyaksa). 420 Besides such persons, qualified artisans could be employed by the superintendent on a fixed salary for a fixed period. However, it should be remembered that there were other weavers, who were not in the state service like Bhimasena the poor weaver, of the Bhimasena Jataka (no. 30), where weaving is called a sorry profession, 421 However, those weavers who were members of a guild (sreni) were financially sound. One such weavers! guild of the Nasik region/mentioned in a Nasik inscription 422 of the time of Nahapana (with three dates viz., 41, 42 and 45). But a much more prosperous guild of weavers living at the famous town of Dasapura, is mentioned in the well-known Mandasor inscription 423 of Kumaragupta and Badhuvarman of the 5th century. These weavers, we are told, were formerly

and afterwards migrated to the lovely town of Dasapura (Mandasor), where they lived very happily for generations.

Under their order (adesena-line 23) a sun-temple was built and afterwards repaired at Dasapura. A line of the Mandasor inscription suggests that the silk-weavers of Dasapura were looked upon as sons by the kings of that region (Nrpatibhissutavataratimanitah). Regarding the weavers, living in villages, we have a fine picture in the Pancatantra where a weaver of the rural area is represented as enjoying liquor with his wife (kaścitkaulikah) sabhāryo madyapānakrte samījovartini nagare prasthitah).

Various types cloths are mentioned in the Jain works of our period. The following types are frequently mentioned - 1. dukula. 2. amsuka, 5. devadus 6. kshauma. 9. uttariya. 10. kambala. 12. gangapata. 426 etc. As we have noted earlier, in the section on 'Dress', garments of different types were and cloth, both superfine as well as coarse, was woven to cater to various levels of society. India, in those times was famous for its fine cloth, which earned high profit in overseas markets and has been praised by most foreign . This fact clearly suggests that weavers played a special role in the economic life of the country.

Not much information is available in the early Indian literature regarding the blacksmiths. However the evidence of the Periplus 427 suggests that Indian iron was exported to other countries. The famous Delhi Iron piller also is a living testimony to the skill attakned by Indian blacksmiths in the Gupta period. this connection we may refer to a beautiful Jataka tale 428 which describes the skill of a particular blacksmith (actually Bodhisattva himself) and also enlightens us as to the life of black in ancient India. We are told that there was a village exclusively inhabited by blacksmiths (kammaragama). This village had a population of 1000 smiths and it used to manufacture all sorts of iron implements including razors, axes, ploughshares and other implements. The headsmith, we are told, enjoyed great affluence and was favoured by the king. 429 marvellous story of the needle told in this context at least proves the superior skill attained by the blacksmiths of those days. The Jain Bhagavati actually refers to one kammaragama near Nalanda, which was apparently a village, inhabited by blacksmiths. It was visited by Lord Mahavira according to the testmony of both the Bhagavati and Acaraanga, the two early canonical texts.

Two early second-century Mathura

Jain image inscriptions dated respectively 52 and 54 of the era of Kanishka, mention blacksmiths of Mathura (Lohikakaraka). We are told in the first inscription 431 that at blacksmith called Sura, a member of a committee (gottika) donated a Jain image. Here the term gottika or goshtika evidently stands for sreni or guild. This suggests that there were regular guilding of blacksmiths in Madhura, during the early centuries of the Christian era. The second Jain image (that of Jain Sarasvati) inscription 432 mentions another blacksmith (Lohikakaraka) called Gopa, who is represented in that epigraph as donating an image of Sarasvati. These two inscriptions not only prove the keen interest taken by ironsmiths or blacksmiths in the religion of the Jinas, but also show that economically too, they led a satisfactory existence. An inscription of the 12th century i.e. V.S. 1235 (plate of Jayacandra) shows that the blacksmiths (lohara). sometimes were engaged in the act of inscribing royal orders.

The <u>Nisitha Curni</u>, 434 a 7th century

Jain text clearly states that the blacksmiths fashioned different types of weapons, such as swords, daggers, etc, besides supplying the cultivator with various agricultural implements. His work was specifically styled <u>aggikamma</u>, as fire was essential to make the iron malleable for manufacturing different objects.

builders in ancient times were distinguished from carpenters, as the term rathakara is mentioned separately. The Jain 443

Angavijia mentions a new term called udakavaddhaki meaning 444

a naval architect. The Brhatsamhita, composed in the 5th century

A.D., gives a lot of information on items of furniture and household objects made of wood. As the carpenters (the two well known names are takshas and vardhakin) used a measuring thread or rope he was called by his secondary designation 445

sutradhara. Vatsyayana, it is interesting to note, includes wood-carring in the list of 64 arts. That the royal carpenters enjoyed high status in society is proved by the fact that 447

according to Kautilya, he drew an annual salary of 2000 panas, a pay which compared favourably with other types of royal servants.

We have in the Jain Angavijia, a very long and usefulness list of other professional groups. We are reproducing below the entire list: trader (vavaharin), naval architect (udakavaddhaki), fishermen (macchabandha), boatmen (navika), oarsmen (bahuvika), goldsmith (suvannakara), lac dyemaker (alittakakara), dyer specialising in red (rattarajjaka) image-maker (devada), dealer in wool (unnavaniva), dealer in yarn (suttavaniva), lacquer-worker (jatukara), painter (chittakara), player on instruments (chittavaji)?, utensil-maker (tatthakara), ironsmith (lohakara), sattavatara, dyer (suddharajaka), potter (kumbhakara) bronzesmith (kamsakaraka) silkweaver (kosakara), cloth-dealer (dussika), dyer (rayaka), silk-weaver (kosajia)

bark-fibre-weaver (vaga), butcher of sheep and buffaloes (orabbhika-mahisaghataka), sugarcane crusher (ussanika), umbrellamaker (chhattakaraka), earning livelihood by cloth-trade (vatthopajivika), dealers in fruits, roots and grains(phalavāniya, mula, dhanna), boiled-rice seller (odanika), meat-seller (mamsa), bean-seller (kammasa-vanijja), maker of groats (tappana), dealer in salt (lona), cake maker (apupika), maker of khaja sweet (khajjakaraka) green grocer (pannaka), dealer in ginger (singarevaniya), profession of toiletmaking (pasadhaka), aggi-upajivi or ahitaggi, actor (kusilava) or rangavachara, perfumer (gandhika), garland-maker (malakara), maker of perfumed powder (chunnikara). Those living by their tongue are suta, magadha, pussamanava (panygerists), purchita (priest), dhammattha mahamanta (officer in charge of religious endowments 🖒, gandhika, gayaka (singer), dapakara, bahussaya. The metal-workers also include lapidary (manikat), kottaka (inlayer), vattaki, vatthapadhaka, vathuvapatika, mantika, bhandayapata, tithayapata and aramayayata were perhaps small officers in charge of vastrapatha, treasury, ferry boats, garden, etc. Superintendent of wood is daruka-adhikarika and radhakara in charge of chariots. Bandhanagarika is jailor, policeman is choralopahara. Basic works were in charge of mulakkhanaka, mulika and mulakamma. The rich merchants were those dealing in wrought gold, unwrought gold (herannika, sauvannika), sandal-wood, cloth and were called devada. There was an officer in charge of animal fodder (govajjhabhatikarka), ovakara-odda (diggers of soil), mulakhanaka (the foundation diggers),

iddakara (the brick layers) balepatunda, suttavatta, architect, the relief-carver (ruvapakkhara) phalakaraka (engraver of sword blades) sikaharaka, amaddaharaka are all terms connected with building industry. The weavers are of silk (kosajjavayaka) shawl (diandakambalavayaka) and kolika. In the class of doctors are physicians (vejja), healers of the body (kayategichchhaga), surgeon (sallakatta), eye-surgeon (sallakatta), with doctor (bhutavijjika), physician for children (komarabhichcha), poison doctor (visatitthika). Then illusionist (mayakaraka), goripadhaka, pole-dancer (lankhaka), boxer (mutthika), ballad singers (lasaka), jesters (velambak), barbar (gandaka) and criers (ghosaka) are mentioned.

corporate activities steadily declined which resulted in increasing economic crisis. In the contemporary epigraphs and literary texts we rarely come across references to guilds or corporations. After the Gupta period, this vast country became divided into a number of smaller states and naturally the skilled, professional people were compelled to seek shelter in distant places. It was no longer possible for them to organise themselves into strong corporate bodies. The picture was somewhat different in South $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{4}8\alpha$ India, as we learn from Dandin's Dasakumaracarita and a few Southern epigraphs.

Section: V Slavery.

In spite of the curious observation of 449

Megasthenes that slavery was unknown in India, it was in fact 450
a widely prevalent practice almost from the Vedic period.

However, there is reason to believe that the slaves were treated 451
very leniently in India. A beautiful Jataka story shows how slave-girls were looked upon as daughters by the master of the house. The well-known classical Sanskrit play Mrcchakatika 452
also shows the human treatment meted out to slaves. However, 453
in the Smrti texts of Manu and Vishu there are passages which show that the laws were generally unfavourable towards slaves in India. But Kautilya in his Arthasastra, it appears, gives a much favourable treatment of the slaves.

There is a good deal of information on slavery in both Jain and non-Jain works of our period. It further appears that in the early medieval period, the slaves were treated more harshly that in the Gupta or pre-Gupta period. As we will see afterwards, one of the reasons for this rather harsh treatment of to slaves in later times, is because of the Muslim influence. Let us first see what Jinadasa, the Jain commentator of the 7th-century has to say on slaves. As a matter of fact, the Nisithacurni of that author is the only Jain work of our period to give some positive information on slavery in the post-Gupta period.

Six classes of slaves are enumerated in this 456 work. They are slaves by birth (gabbha), by purchase (kita), for non-payment of debts (anava), reduced to slavery during famine (dubbhikkha), for some crime (savaraha), slaves formed out of prisoners of war (ruddha). It is interesting to note that different authorities give different figures regarding the types or classes of slaves. A particular Jataka Story (No. speaks for four types of slaves viz., those from their 545) mothers, those bought with money, those becoming slaves of their own will and those driven by fear. The first two types of this Jataka are also mentioned in the Nisitha Curni; but the last two are unknown to the later author. It further appears that in later times the people were forced into slavery under various pretexts. It is also likely that in the pre-Mauryan period, the prisoners were not as a rule reduced to slavery. That in the 1st century A.D. India had a shortage of slaves is indicated by the fact that, according to the Periplus Barygaza imported a large number of foreign slaves.

The <u>Paumacariyam</u>, another early Jain 459 work, mentions the slaves of different countries. As an affluent and industrially advanced country, India could afford to import a large number of slaves of non-Indian origin.

460
The Manusmrti mentions seven types of slaves viz., dhvajahrta, bhaktadasa, grhaja, krita, datrima, paitrika

and dandadasa. It will be seen that most of the classes, mentioned by Jinadasa is included in this list. However Manu's list does not include the two types viz., anaya (for non-payment of debts) and dabbhikkaha (reduced to slavery because of famine). Probably this type is the same as the fourth type of the Vidhurapandita Jataka viz., Those becoming slaves out of fear. Naturally for a poor person, famine was a sufficient ground for accepting slavery.

The bhakatadasa of Manu means those who have accepted slavery because of poverty, and Kautilya 461 also indirectly refers to this class of slaves.

The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> gives a good deal of information of female-slaves in particular. According to it, was easy in those days to purchase a female-slave (mollakita). Even a women of good family according to the <u>Brhatkalpa-bhasya</u>

<u>Vrtti</u> could be reduced to slavery for non-payment of debts.

Madanika of the <u>Mrcchakatika</u> who had a Brahmana lover, apparently belonged to a respectable family. That she was a way cultured is apparent from the fourth Act of that play.

Kautilya 465 also allows an <u>Arva</u> to accept slavery in times of distress. The highly interesting work the <u>Lekhapaddhati</u>

speaks of a ten-year old daughter of one princes Jagada, called Sampuri, who was forced to slavery because of Muslim tyranny and other reasons.

The Jain authors 467 recognise the fact that the slave-girls were forced to act as concubines. The Jatakas 468 also pointedly mention the female-slaves as concubines. The expression 'dasiputra' is quite common in Sanskrit literature. Kautilya 469 also refers to the practice of using female-slaves as concubines. The Avasyaka Curni 470 speaks of illicit connection between the female-slaves and a village head-man.

In the Lekhapaddhati, a somewhat lar lete text, we get a detailed idea regarding the duties of a female-slave. We are told that a female-slave was required to do all sorts of household works including cutting of the vegetables, pulverizing the spices, smearing the floor with cow-dung, sweeping, bringing fuel, water and other things and even throwing away human excreta (of her master's house). She was also required to milk the cow and other animals and also to fetch grrass, fodder etc. Her other duties included cooking, cleaning the gutters and the water-reservoir. There is little doubt that the Lekhapaddhati reflects the spirit of the medieval period when the maid-servants were treated as one of the house-hold possessions. Medhatithip who is assigned to the 9th century, also shows acquaintance with the pitiable condition of female-slaves, including their life as concubines. The Lekhapaddhati 473 pointedly mentions the cruel treatment meted out to slave-girls;

They could even to tortured to death. The Katahaka Jataka also refers to the harsh treatment received by slaves from their masters. It appears that the slave-masters of ancient and medieval times, cared little for the rales framed by the far-sighted Kautilya, 475 most of which showed clemency towards those wretched human beings, who according to Hemancandra 476 were usually beaten like mules. The Avasyaka Curni 477 the 7th-century Jain text, relates the pathetic story of an old female-slave, who was often beaten by her master for alleged negligence of duty. The <u>Uttaradhyayanatika</u> mentions the festival of female-slave (desimaha), which shows that sometimes these unfortunate people indulged in merry-making. Avasyaka Curni even refers to a story according to which the son of a female-slave of Surparaka, inherited the entire property of his master. It further appears that male-slaves sometimes received better treatment then their female counterparts. We have just referred to the story recorded in the Avasyaka Curni. Elsewhere in another Jain work a story is told of an audacious male-slave of Rajagrha called Cilata, who cared little for his master's adminitions and ultimately emerged as the leader of a notorious gang of decoits.

It has been argued that there existed a regular slave-trade during both the ancient and medieval times in India. 481 The <u>Samaraiccakaha</u>482 of Haribhadra

refers to the forest tribes who indulged in illegal slave-trade. The <u>Upamitibhava prapancakatha</u>, composed in 906 A.D., tells the highly interesting story of robbers who used to generously feed a man. So that he could be sold for a lucrative price. We have already mentioned the fact that according to the Periphus, slaves were regularly imported into Baryagaza, the famous part of western India. The <u>Prabandhacintamani</u> 484 states that Tejahapala, the famous Jain minister of Gujarat earned great merit by banning the abduction of men by notorious sea-men. The <u>Lekhapaddhati</u> also mentions the fact that slaves were sometimes sold in foreign countries. The <u>Upamitibhavapsapancakatha</u> 486 also confirms this statement.

It appears that after the contact of the Indians with the Muslims in the first quarter of the 8th century, the condition of slaves became worse. As noted by no less an author than Schoff, the Arabs were inveterate slave-traders from early times. Prof. Gopal 488 draws out attention to the observation of Al Utbi, 489 a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, that after his victory over Nider Bhim, slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap. We have already referred to the passage of the lekhapaddhati, according to which a ten-year old of a highly respectable family had to embrace slavery as a result of Muslim depradations.

The 8th century author, Haribhadra in his
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commentary on the <u>Dasavaikalika</u> describes the son of a slaw-woman,
who possessed only a thread-bare garment and was a blackguard,
indulging in all sorts of notorious activities. Prostitutes
and gamblers are depicted as his constant companions.

We should also take note of the fact that our law-givers clearly distinguished between a slave and a servant. The servants were regularly paid; but the slaves seldom 491 record regular wages. Medhatithi, the famous commentator of Manu, definitly distinguishes serving (pericarya) and slavery 6 that (dasyam). Other law-givers, also, do the same thing.

Section: (vi): Revenue System

of any kingdom depends on a good and healthy revenue system. It is apparent from Kautilya that the kings did not leave any stone unturned to tap hew sources of revenue — be it from agriculture or trade or any other source. It further appears that the revenue — system, as described by Kautilya, continued even in our period and let us first discuss the taxes connected with land.

493

The <u>Vyavaharabhashya</u> written probably in the 8th century, tells us that the legal land-tax is one-sixth of the land produce.

This statement of that work is fully confirmed by the very valuable evidence of the early 7th century Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, who emphatically says that the king's tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent. In the Mauryan period, also the cultivators had to pay this amount of tax as landrevenue as suggested by Rummindei Pillar inscription of Asoka. Even in the days of the Jain author Somadeva (10th century) the cultivators had to pay the same amount of landtax. This is clear from his Nitivakvamrta. Although the cultivators had to pay generally in kind, there is evidence to show that the cash-payment also was not unknown. The Lekha-baddhati discovered in a Jain Bhandar, though a work of the 13th century, has a copy of land-settlement, made in the year V.S. 802, according to which a villager called Goda, had to pay to the Fancakula a sum of three thousand drammas land-revenue in that year in three equal instalments, called skandas. That the land-revenue was paid in three instalments is also proved by an epigraph of Rashtrakuta Krshna II (9th century). Among the land-revenue officers, we can mention not only Pancakula but also selahasto The latter is not only mentioned in the Lakhapaddhati, adhikari. but also in the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa, who flourished in the 7th century A.D.

In the period under review, land-revenue constituted only a part of the king's income. A major part

of the king's revenue came from various types of taxes imposed on traders. It appears from Kautilya that practically every article of trade was taxed by the state. Sometimes the merchants were exempted from tax, if they paid proper gifts to the royal 503 authority. J. C. Jain draws our attention to a story of the 504 Navadhammakahāo, according to which, a sea-faring merchant of Campā was exempted from tax after he paid a precious gift of a pair of ear-rings to the king of Mithila. The Pinda-Niryukti, 506 an early Jain commentary work, written probably around 200 A.D., makes a very interesting reference to house-tax and informs us that every resident had to pay a tax of two drammas for their buildings to the king.

The interesting 7th-century commentary

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namely Nisitha Curni makes pointed reference to sulkasthana

or custom-houses, situated at the gate of a town or village. In

these places all commodities of business were regularly checked.

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The custom officers were called Sumkiya or Saulkira and this

term is the same as sulkadhyaksha of Kautilya's Arthasastra.

That early text gives minute details about the activities of

sulkadhyaksha. It appears that merchants had to pay one-twentieth

or five percent of the value of his merchandise as toll or

sulka. This is clear from a story of the Nisitha Curni, where

a merchant is represented as giving a twentieth part of his

commodities (vimsati-bhaga) as royal tax. A Jain inscription

also supports the statement of Jinadasa that the merchants had

epigraphs also mention terms like mandapikā, sulkamandapikā, jala-mandapikā, sthalamandapikā etc. to denote custom -houses.

That the merchants sometimes tried to evade sulka or tax is 513 evident from Kautilya, who suggests various measures to combat this evil practice of the unscrupulous traders. The medieval Jain narrative work, the Punyaśrava-kathakośa of Ramacandra mentions such as attempt of tax-evasion by a merchant.

The 8th-century text, the <u>Kuvalavamala</u> also tells us about the custom charges, which the merchants had to pay after reaching the port. However, it should be admitted that compared to the details regarding commercial activities, found in the Jain texts, we actually do not get much information on the details regarding custom duties in the Jain texts, although, there is little doubt that things of various kingdoms, in the early medieval India earned a huge amount of revenue from both internal and external traders, which enabled them to maintain large number of soldiers, so that they could become <u>digvijayin</u> king.

As noted by J. C. Jain, the canonical text (including the early medieval Jain commentaries) of the Jains refer to eighteen kinds of taxes from can buffaloes, camels cattle, goats, grass, chaff, coal, plough, threshold, postureground, bullocks, earthen-pots, hides and skins, food and any

other tax imposed by will. It is interesting to note that the Niravavalika refers to the fact that the property of a hairless persons was confiscated by the king. This is also known from 518 Kalidasa's Sakuntala. The Jain monerch Kumarapala, afterwards, 519 abolished this heinous practice.

From various types of fines, the kings used to fill up their treasury. The commentary on the 520

Brhatkalpabhashya refers to a fine of 80,000 rupakas (silver coins) on one, who raised his sword on any other person to kill another person. At Anandapura in Gujarat, for such an offence, the offender had to pay only five rupakas

The tax-collectors were sometimes very 522 oppressive. The Avasyaka Curni mentions a king, who invaded another kingdom for non-payment of taxes. The Vipakasruta refers to a district officer (ratthakuda), who harassed people by imposing various types of taxes. Even sometimes the kings used to burn down the houses of merchants, who did not pay their custom-duties. The Jatakas compared the tax-collectors with 525 hungry robbers, draining the poor earnings of the cultivators.

The <u>Samaraiccakaha</u> of Haribhadra also frequently refers to the costly gifts which the kings used to receive from the merchants, which were treated as a source of revenue. In the early medieval period, therefore, both trade

and agriculture were equally responsible for the affluence of the kings. However, the god-fearing kings like Harsha or Paramara Bhoja were known for their munificence, and treasuries of such kings were often empty because of their liberality.

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- See Uraga Jataka (No.354); see also Cowell, <u>Jataka</u>

 Stories, Vol. III, pp. 108 ff.
- In this particular Jataka story, the female slave of the family is represented as a member of the household, whom the master of the family looked upon as a foster-child. The female slave, on her part, treated the son of her master as her foster-son. This shows that the slaves, in many cases, were treated with genuine affection by the head of the family.
- 452. See Chowkhamba edition of that work, Act IV; Madanikā, the female-slave of Vasantasenā, was looked upon as a friend by her mistress. Her lover Sarvilaka, it is interesting to note, was a Brahmin; note in this connection (p. 223) the parting words of the female-slave Madanikā; the mistress Vasantasenā gives her in marriage to Sarvilaka.
- 453. See English trans. in S.B.E. Vol. 25, pp. 306, 326 etc.
- 454. <u>S.B.E.</u> Vol. 7, pp. 37, 43, 74.
- 455. See trans., Shamasastry, pp. 208 ff.
- 456. See Vol. II, pp. 263, 265; see also M. Sen, A Cultural study of the Nisitha Curni, p. 203.
- 457. See Cowell, op-cit., Vol.VI, p.139 (Vidhurapandita Jataka)

- 458. See para 36 of Schoff's edition (New Delhi, reprint, 1974).
- 459. See
- 460. See VIII. 454 4 40 415.
- 461. See Shamasastry p. 208.
- 462. For further details of slavery, see Narada, VIII, 28ff.
- 463. III, p.434.
- 464. Referred by M. Sen, op-cit, p. 204; also fn. 3.
- 465. See trans. (shamasastry), p. 208.
- 466. PP. 45 ff (edited by C.D. Dalal, Baroda, 1925).
- 467. See Nisitha Curni, IV, p. 19 and Brh. Vr. III, p. 714.
- 468. In the Katahaka Jataka (No. 125) a female-slave is represented as giving birth to a child, apparently the fruit of her union with her master.
- 469. Trans. p. 209.
- 470. P.284; see also J. C. Jain, Jana Agama Sahitya Mein

 Bharatiya Samaja, pp. 161-62.
- 471. PP. 44-47. (ed. Dalal).
- 472. See Kane, Hist. of Dharmasastra, Vol. II, part I; per see also L. Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, pp. 79-80.
- 473. pp. 44ff.
- 474. Cowell op-cit., I, p. 275.
- 475. See III. 13 (Shamasastry, trans. p. 209).
- 476. See Triesspisalakapurusacaritra, I, p. 56
- 477. See Jain, op-cit., p. 161; see also <u>Ava.Cu</u>., p. 332.
- 478. P. 124.

- 479. P. 540.
- 480. See Jnatradharmakatha, Book 18, p.207; see also Ava.Cu., p. 497.
- 481. See Gopal, op-cit., p. 73
- 482. II, pp. 91f.
- 483. PP. 404-5
- 484. Edited Jinavijaya, p. 99.
- 485. P. 47.
- 486. Ph. 404f.
- 487. <u>Periplus</u>, p.161.
- 488. See <u>op-cit.</u>, p.80.
- 489. See Elliot and Dowson, History etc., II.p. p. 39.
- 490. P. 54.
- 491. Com. on Manu, VIII, 415.
- 492. See Gopal, opecit, p. 78.
- 493. I, p. 128 -
- 494. See J. C. Jain, Prakrit Sahitya Ka itihasa, p. 211.
- 495. See Watters, On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, I.p. 176
- 496. See Select Inscriptions etc., 2nd ed. I, pp.67-68.
- 497. See 7. 23.
- 498. See Majumdar, A.K.., The Chaulukyas of Gujarat, pp. 242-43.
- 499. See <u>I.A.</u>, 13, p. 69.
- 500. See Majumdar, A.K., op-cit., p.235 and E.I., M., p.58
- 501. Lekhapaddhati, 50.
- 502. See E.I., 14, p. 150,
- 503. See <u>Life</u> etc., p. 61.

- 504. <u>VIII</u>, p. 102.
- 505. 87, p. 32.
- Jain, Prakrit Sahitya Ka itihasa, pp. 193 ff; and also Life etc., pp. 39f.
- 507. See Vol. IV , p. 344.
- 508. Loc+cit; see also Ibid, II, p. 97.
- 509. See II,21; trans. Shamasastry, p. 123, who call him superintendent of tolls.
- 510. See IV, p. 344.
- 511. See E.I. &, pp. 17ff; and sae also Jain Lekha Sangraha,
 No. 898.
- 512. See G.C. Chowdhary, P.H.N.I., p. 367.
- 513. Trans. pp. 123f.
- 514. Ed. A.N. Upadhye, Sholapur, 1978, p. 63.
- 515. See Upadhaye, Kuvalayamala, part II; see also 68.1 ff.
- 516. See <u>Life</u> etc., pp. 61f.
- 517. Rajkot ed., p. 42.
- 518. See Act. VI.
- 519. See Chatterjee, A.K., A Comprehensive Hist. of Jainism,
 II, p. 17; see also Hemacandra, Tśc. parvan, X.
- 520. IV, 5104.
- 521. Loc.cit.
- 522. II, p. 190.
- 523. See Jain, <u>Life</u> etc., p. 63.

524. See I, 2506 f.

525. See in this connection R. Fick, The Social Organisation of N.E. India in Buddha's time, Calcutta, 1920, pp.120f.

526. See Bhava VI, pp. 509, 559, 562 etc.

CHAPŤER- V

Religious Life

Section (i) :

3.3

Śaivism

Through the centuries, it is
Religion which has moulded the lives of the people of this vast
subcontinent. That all thought and activity of the ancient
Indians revolved around this religious axis, is perhaps why,
so many religious systems flourished on one soil leaving behind
an unfathomable reservoir of religious and semi-religious
literature. The value of this enoromous store-house of information
cannot be measured whether in its spiritual or material aspect.
The Jain didactic and narrative literature of our period, likewise,
provide ample evidence as to the religious condition of India
at that time.

Fortunately, most of these works are dated and their testimonies, therefore, are of great value to the historian. The Brahmanical texts of this period on the other hand, being mostly undated, their evidence often tends to unauthentic. In spite of this shortcoming their importance should not be wholly minimised and it is best to compare the statements of both the Jain and non-Jain writers to form a proper idea of the religious condition of early medieval India. We may now

turn to see what picture, of the popular Brahmanical religious systems, such as Saivism, Vaishavism, Saktaism and other minor cults, is portrayed by the Jain authors of our period.

As it is well-known, Saivism was popular in India from the days of the Harappan civilisation.

In the early Vedic literature we have the figure of Rudra, who is primarily conceived as an atmospheric deity, closely associated with the Maruts, the Storm-gods. By the time the two great epics were composed, Siva emerged as one of the three important deities of the Indian pantheon, the other two being Brahmahand Vishu. Several colourful legends have been woven around Siva in the vast epico-Puranic literature, which undoubtedly indicates his tremendous popularity. Panini knows Siva as Rudra, Bhava, and Sarva. Patanjali, for whom we have a definite date, (2nd century B.C.), mentions Siva icons along with the images of Skanda and Visakha, Kautilya, Bhāsa, Vatsyāyana, all pre-Gupta literature, appear to be quite familiar with Siva and his different forms.

The cannonical texts of the 10
Buddhists devote a fair amount of attention to Siva, but a better account regarding this deity and Saivism is to be found in the Ardha-Magadhi religious works of the Svetambaras. It is extremely interesting that the festival in honour of Rudra is mentioned prominently in several Jain canonical texts. In the Acaranga Sutra,

which is one of the oldest canonical works of the Svetambara

Jains, we find clear reference to the festival honouring Rudra,
which is reminiscent of the festival venerating Pasupati (a
popular form of Rudra) described in the Mahabharata. Some of
the other Jain canonical texts, also, give the impression that
the workship of Siva was quite common in those days. The Bhagavati
depicts/as Sulapani and Vrsabhavahara. In their hour of peril,
people prayed to Siva and other popular gods such as Skanda,
Durga, Kubera etc.

The Angavijia another Svetambara

Jain text composed in the early centuries of the christian era, represents Siva as a pestoral deity, a characteristic often mentioned in the earlier epico-Puranic literature. Texts like the Paumacariyam (of Vimala) and the Vasudevahinda also referent to Siva and his various forms. An important passage of the Paumacariyam moreover, suggests the popularity of the Linga cult in pre-Christian times.

The cult associated with Siva has also been extensively treated by both the Svetambara Digambara writers of our period (600 A.D. - 1000 A.D.). One of the 17 earliest Jain literary works of this period is the Varangacarita, a beautiful narrative were written by Jatasimhanandi. His work has been assigned to the 7th century A.D., by the eminent historian 18 Rect. A.N. Upadhye. Almost all the Jain writers including the

author of the Jain Harivamsa and Udyotanasuri, both of whom flourished in the 8th century A.D., have mentioned the above poem of Jatasimhanandi with deference. From this poem, it appears, that Siva was regarded as a popular god especially in South India in the 7th century A.D. This fact is strikingly corroborated by the inscriptions of this period, both of the South and North. The brightest star in the firmament of North Indian politics at this time, viz., Harsavardhana is described in his inscriptions 22 as well as the Harsacatita 23 as a devotee of Mahesvara, a common appellation of Siva. Harsavardhana's contemporary and rival potentate in Eastern India, Sasanka, was also a staunch Saiva. A few South Indian inscriptions of this period, 25 belonging to the Western Calukyas, prove the popularity of Saivism in that region. The Pallavas, too, were devoted followers of this cult. 26 In his poem, however, Jata-Rimhanandi denounces Siva and other Brahmanical deities. 27 This outburst, of course, is natural on the part of a Jain author advocating the efficacy of his own religious tenets. Nevertheless, Jatasimhanandi is quite familiar with the popular legends associated with Siva, including the story of the gods god's relation with the river Ganges. 28

Several Jain texts of the 8th century clearly reflect the contemporary religious life of the people of the sub-continent. The most vivid picture

is sketched by the noted Jain writer Udyotanasuri in his Kuvalayamala, 29 a unique composition in Prakrit. author, a resident of Javalipura i.e. Jalor in Rajasthan, writing in Saka 700, corresponding to 779 A.D., also gives a detailed account of the Siva cult prevailing in that region. In the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> Siva is represented as a god with three eyes and there is a distinct reference to his ardhanarisvara form. 31 The allusion to Siva's three eyes, 32 which form an important iconographic feature of the god, and to his androgynous form³³ also found in the Brhatsamhita of Varahamihira, who flourished a few centuries earliers proves that the author of the Kuvalavamala possessed a discerning eye for detail. Several popular names of Siva such as Hara, Dhavaladeha, Sankara, and Trinayana also appear in the Kuvalayamala. Udyotanasuri even represents Siva in his Yogisvara aspect. 34 In several contemporary sculptures of India this characteristic of Siva has been beautifully illustrated.

This learned Jain writer has also given us some idea regarding the Rudra aspect of Siva. In fact, he has represented Rudra almost as a separate deity. There is a distinct reference in the <u>Kuvalavamala</u> to the <u>bhavanas</u> (temples) of Rudra and this is reminiscent of the description of a Siva temple given in the <u>Kadambarii</u> of Bana, a work composed in the first half of the 7th century A.D. It should be remembered that, like his patron, Bana himself was a devout Saiva and his panegyric

of Harsha 7 (i.e. Harsacarita) opens with a invocation to Lord Siva. 7th century Jain work viz., the Misitha Gurni 38 of Jinadasa also refers to temples dedicated to Rudra (Budragrha), but in conjunction with the term Mahadevayatana which shows that these were undoubtedly popular names of Siva. In the same text, we come across another very well known epithet of this god i.e. Pasupati. 39

The worship of Siva with all its eeremonial paraphernalia evoked utmost devotion amongst people of all classes. Brahmana priests as well as low-caste Pulindas are depicted as ardent devotees of Siva. A story in the Nisitha Curni shows a Brahmana and a Pulinda, both paying homage to the image of Siva, through the latter is said to have acquired an exalted status due to his sincere devotion. That Siva was a popular deith amongst the common people, is further emphasized by the testimony of another Jain work viz., the Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra. Since Haribhadra was the teacher of Udyotana in the science of logic, 41 he has to be assigned to the first half of the 8th century. In this work, we find Rudra associated with Skanda giving us the composite figure of Skanda-Rudra, who is represented as a god worshipped by thieves. We are further enlightened that this particular deity was the inventor of a theef's pill called paradratimehani (charmer of other's sight). It is interesting to note that the god Skanda in the Mrcchakatika 43 is depicted as the presiding deity of thieves. Both Siva and his son Skanda-Karttikeya were associated from quite early times with non-Aryan and other forest tribes and thus it is not surprising to find them pictured as the god of thieves. Even Durga, Siva's consort, is represented in several texts as a goddess revered by thieves and robbers. 44 It is therefore, quite evident that Lord Siva was universally worshipped during this period.

Bana, in his Harsacarita mentions the evening worship of Siva as a general feature of the time. 5 In the Malatimadhava, 46 Bhavabhūti shows Malati going to the temple of Siva on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month.

Siva, namely, the Mahakala shrine of Ujjayini has been mentioned by several Jain writers of this time. Mdyotanasuri gives a vivid account of the bloody offering and sacrifices and the use of wine and the skill of human beings and Vetala-sadhana carried on in this temple. The earliest reference to this shrine and the adjoining commetery in Jain canonical literature is to be found in the Antagadadasao, 47 the eighth Anga text. Bana, the noted bard of king Harsa's count, has also shown his acquaintance

with this prominent centre of Saivism. This renowned shrine is even repeatedly alluded to in the <u>Kathasaritsagara</u>, 49 the Sanskrit translation of the lost <u>Brhatkatha</u> of Gunadhya, composed in the Satavahana period. However, it is clearly evident from the <u>Kuvalavamala</u> that this well-known temple was regarded as the foremost <u>tirtha</u> of Saiva pilgrimage in India. It is interesting to note that the destruction of this famous shrine by the iconoclastic Muslims is mentioned by their own historians.

Not much importance is given to Siva in the texts like the <u>Harivamsa</u> (783 A.D.) Jinasena II) or the <u>Dhurtakhvana</u> written by Haribhadra. In the <u>Harivamsa</u>, Siva is represented once as the presiding deity of two hills situated in Lavanasanmdra. The author Jinasena II nonetheless refers to the Mahakala temple of Ujjayini. 52

The Jain text of our period which provides the most exhaustive details regarding Siva and the cult evolving from his is the Yasastikaja, 53 written by the celebrated author Somadeva in the third quarter of the tenth century, during the reign of the renowned Rastrakuta emperor Krana III. It has been argued 54 that Somadeva originally hailed from Gauda janapada (West Bengal), afterwards sojourned at Kanyakubja for a bfief period, before finally settling in the south. He was

undoubtedly a man of encyclopaedic knowledge and this work reveals his deep understanding of all the major religious systems of India.

Somadeva not only shows close acquaintance with Saiva religious practices and beliefs but also with their metaphysical doctrines. In Book V of the Yasastilaka we are confronted with a Saiva ascetic called Haraprabodha 55 who gives a discourse on the Daksina and Vamamargas of Saivism. The righthand path, according to him, is meant for the general people. Saivas, it seems from a verse quoted by Somadeva, believed in non-duality. They further were of the opinion that Siva without Sakti is powerless. As Handiqui\shown, Somadeva was quite familiar with all the major Saiva texts, including the Siva and Lingapuranas. The author of the Yasastikala even quotes a verse which he attributes to Bhasa, 58 to illustrate the Vamamarga. This verse, however, occurs in the Mattavilasaprahasana 59 of Mahendravarman, as pointed out by Prof. Handiqui. 60 Somadeva also quotes a verse praising the glory of Siva which he assigns to Grahila 60a of whom nothing is yet known. Our learned author is also familiar⁶¹ with the popular legend concerning the origin of the Vaisesika philosophy, according to which, Siva in the form of an own revealed the knowledge of the six categories to the sage Kanada at Varanasi. This story is also quoted in Sriharsas

despised the followers of this sect whom they compared with Sudras. 73 The Pandaramga ascetics are depicted assembling at a place during the Indra festival (Imdamaha). 74 It is interesting to note in this connection that the famous Chinese traveller, I-tsing, also refers to a class of ascetics who anointed their bodies with ashes and tied up their locks of hair. 75 The Pasupatas were even indirectly referred to by the illustrious Varahamihira in his Brhatsamhita; while dealing with the installation of images, Varahamihira states that the image of Sambhu must be consecrated by the ashbesmearing Brahmanas (Sambhah sabhasma dvijan) 76 whom the commentator identifies with the followers of the Pasupata sect. Yuan Chwang, the learned Chinese pilgrim who visited the country in the 7th century A.D. refers to the Pasupatas as ash-besmearing tirthikas. It is known that Mathura was an important centre of the Pasupata school in the Gupta period. 77 Under the Kalacuri kings, the Pasupatas received immense patronage. Krshmaraja and Anantamahayi, the queen of Buddharaja, were ardent followers of this sect. 78 Yuan Chwang found large bodies of the Pasupatas at Jalandhara, Ngo-hi-chita-lo (Ahicchatra) Malakuta (Tamil country), Malwa, Mahesvarapura, Jang-kie (ka)-lo, Bannu and Khota 79 Kalhana tells us in Raittarangini 79a that the king of Kashmir, Cakravarman (935 A.D.), contructed a lodge for the Pasupatas called the Cakramatha, which was

mentions this sect, which utterly scorned by Jaina monks and 85 society. They are described as besmeared with ashes and residing at despicable places, and their presence was disgusting because 86 of their extreme uncleanliness. The Kapalikas were even regarded as untouchable (ashpreva). They are described by Jinadasa as keeping ashes (bhaya) and other fragrant substances like guggula in a particular object called sikkaga - nantaga 88 as a part of their ritualistic appurtenances. Another similar sect mentioned in this work is the Haddasarakkas, who may be identified with the Kalamukhas, whose practices were akin to that of the Kapalikas.

The Kapalikas were prominently associated with the practice of human sacrifices, a fact which is illustrated by the well-known description in Bhavabhuti's Malatimadhava.

Act. V, wherein the Kapalika Aghoraghanta tries to sacrifice
Malati before the goddess Karala or Camunda. In the Yasastilaka,

Maradatta at the instance of a Kulacarva orders a human sacrifice in the Mahabhairava temple. Somadeva further states that certain devotees in that temple sought to please Siva by drinking their own blood.

Such barbaric practices naturally filled the Ahimsa-preaching Jaina monks with revulsion against these Saivite sects and their contemptuous attitude is openly expressed by Somadeva, who prescribed a bath for Jaina monks

when they happen to come in contact with a Kapalika.

Several literary works of this period also attribute certain magical powers to the followers of this sect. The Nisitha Curni alludes to the practice of sorcery amongst the Kapalikas and Haddasarakkhas. It adds that these sects were versed in the art of divining the treasure-troues by using certain spells tike the Mahakala-mamta. In the Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra, the gambler Mahesvaradtta becomes a Kapalika, and an expert in garuda-mantra, the mystic formula for curing snake bites. A story in the Kathasaritsagara relates how a kapalika entices a married woman named Madanamanjari to the cremation ground for an evil purpose under the influence of magic formulas. The Yasastilaka also depicts the Saiva Haraprabodha as an expert in divining hidden treasures. Rajasekhara's play <u>Karpuramanjari</u>, the Kaula Bhairavananda is described as a master magician. The kapalika of Prabodhacandradova also claims miraculous powers. One of the avowed objects of the Kapalika cult, as well-known, is the attainment of supernatural Yogic powers called Siddhis. Ksemiśwara's Candakausika, composed in the first half of the 10th century, shows Dharma appearing in the garb of a Kapalika, armed with a club, and carrying a skull in his hand, and decorated with ashes and human bones. He declares that he is about to acquire certain magical powers.

Scattered references to the Kapalikas are also found in the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> of Udyotanasuri. In one 101 passage, we come across the expression <u>Kavaliniya</u> whereas, 102 elsewhere, it is mentioned as a means for the expiation of sin.

The <u>Yasastilaka</u> further refers to the gruesome practice of 104 selling human flash to goblins to achieve some desired object.

105
Bana, too, alludes to this practice in the <u>Harshacarita</u> whilst referring to the rites performed for the recovery of Prabhakaravardhana, as well as during the festival of Mahakala Siva.

literary and archaeological records it may be inferred that the Kapalika sect had already come into existence by the 7th century. The practice of bearing a skull and a club is mentioned among the religious customs of non-Buddhist sects enumerated in the 106 Lalitavistara. This is an obvious reference to the Kapalika sect in an important work of Buddhist canskrit literature composed before the 9th century. It is evident from Bhavabhuti's 107 comments in his Malatimadhava that during his time (8th ecentury) Sriparvata, a holy mountain in Kurnool District (Malatima Presidency) on the Krshna river, was a centre of the Kapalika cult. There is a reference to a Matha of the Mahavratins in an inscription from Ramnad District (Malatima Presidency) of the reign of Vira Pandya, showing that the Kapalikas were well—exampsed in that

Another record issued by a chieftain named Vikramakesari, a contemporary of Vira Pandya, that the former presented a big Matha to a certain Mallikarjuna of Madura who was the chief ascetic of the Kalamukhi sect.

We have already pointed out that the temple of Candamari, as described by Somadeva, was also connected with Siva worship. The name of the temple at Rajapura, the capital of the Yaudheyas, was Mahabhairava and it was guarded, according to the author, by the attendants of Siva. There is also an indirect reference to the Mahakala temple.

There are reasons to believe that along with stone <u>lingas</u>, wooden icons of Siva were worshipped in the early medieval period. The <u>Brhatkalpa Bhasva</u>, written by Sanghadasagani, who flourished in the 8th century, pointedly mentions wooden images of this deity.

Siva worship, however, was not only confined to the ascetics but embraced a large portion of the laity. Devoted householders (gihattha) carrying 'food' and other 'offering' to the temple of Siva is pictured in the Nisitha Curni of Jinadasa. That the temples of this deity (Sivagrhas) afforded shelter to monks of other religious as well, is beautifully illustrated by an ancient story, cited in the above work, which

depicts Ajja Suhatthi, the famous Jaina Acarya living in a sivaghara in the country of Sauragtra. Various terms such as 114 115 Ruddaghara, Ruddanikevana. Mahadevavatana, Sivaghara etc., clearly point to the abundance of Siva temples in the early medieval period and the immense popularity of Saivism. Today, architectural remains bear mute testimony to the richness of a bygone era and the religions which flourished under the auspices of those towering royal personalities who spanned it. Several temples of Siva built by the early Calunyas and the Rashtrakutas, the Kailasa and the cave temples of Ellora, according to Prof. 116
Bhandarkar, show the popularity of Siva worship in Maharastra from the 7th century A.D. Under the Maitrakas of Valabhi, who styded themselves as in unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of the god, viz. Mahesvara or Parama-Mahesvara.

Thus in the early medieval period Saivism emerged as a powerful religious force bringing within its fold large parts of Northern and Southern India. The Chief rival of Jainism during the period, the frequent reference to Saivism in contemporary Jain texts merely emphasize the vast popularity, this religious system enjoyed, throughout the country. Although, its tenets and practices have been much maligned by its heretical opponents, their scathing criticism seem to conceal a struggle for self-preservation. Undoubtedly, Saivism was one of the foremost religions of India from 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D.

Section (ii) Saktaism

The worship of Sakti or the mother Goddess has carved a niche in the hearts of the Indian people, pratically from the days of the Indus culture. This adoration reached its peak with the emergence of Durga in the later Vedic pantheon, whose various aspects even today are worshipped with profound devotion.

The Jain texts contain a wealth of information regarding the worship of Sakti and her various forms. In the canonical literature we come across a particular goddess called Kottakirivā, who is represented as a popular deity in several texts. She is generally identified with Durga. A few other aspects of this Goddess were also known to the Jain canonical writers which show that she was a favoured deity even in the pre-Christian period. According to the Jain commentary of the Jnatradharmakatha _ is identical with Mahahamardini. This fact is also supported by expernal evidence, as we have several references to her worship in the later Vedic literature and also in the works of early classical writers. In texts like the two epics, the Brhatsamhita and the compositions of Banabhatta, there are details regarding Durga-worship as well as of icons of this goddess. Subandhu in his Vasavadatta refers to the shrine of Katyayani alias Canda. Yuan Chwang, also refers to her popularity. The non-Jain writers of this period (too, too, have left valuable

accounts about the worship of Durga. In the <u>Furanas</u>, numerous 125 facts on the Mother-goddess cult are available.

In this respect, the Jain authors of our period do not lag far behind. Allusions to the worship of some aspects of the Mother Goddess occur frequently in their works, emphasizing the pupularity of this cult at that time. In Chapter forty-nine of the Harivamsapurana of Jinadena II (783 A.D), contains a minute description of Vindhyavasini Durga. Her association with forests and the non-Aryans, first indicated in the Vaishnava Harivamsa, are also mentioned in this chapter. She is represented the killer of mahisha and as drinking the blood of various animals. In much earlier texts, Durga is depicted as the killer of demon Pahisha. Elsewhere in the Harivamsapurana, Jinasena II refers to the goddess Ambika of Girnar who is moreover, given the interesting applilation <u>Šimhavāhini</u> by him. <u>Ambikā</u>, as well-known, is one of the various names of Durga, who is always depicted astride a ferocious lion (simhawahini).

The Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra, aptly 130a designated as a religious novel by Winternitz, also gives a true picture of the Mother goddess cult prevalent during the 8th century A.D. There is a detailed description of the temple 131 of Katyayani, in the sixth Book of this prose-romance and the deity is shown possessing four-arms holding respectively,

a kodanda, a ghanta, a khadga and the tail of Mahishasura. This suggests that Katyayani was regarded as the killer of Mahishasura, a concept which was known to Bana. The Matsya Purana, 133 it is interesting to note, represents Katvavani as a ten-armed goddess. We are further enlightened that Katyayani must always be depicted in the Mahishamardini aspect and here in the Samaraiccakaha, also, she is described as the salver of Mahisha. There is little doubt that the description of Katyayani in the Matsya Purana influenced later image-makers and literary tolk. However, in the present text, Katyayani is shown having four-armed and several four-armed icons of this goddess have been unearthed from various parts of India. 154 It is probable that the worship of the ten-armed Katyayani at a later period gained popularity in Bengal and this particular type of Durga image is skill worshipped in that region during the Durga-Pûja festival. In the connection, we should mention another Jain text called Pasanahacariya written by Gunachandra in 1111 A.D. This author significantly refers to the worship of Katyayani in the janapada of Vanga. 135 Undoubtedly, this may be regarded as the earliest reference to the worship of Durga in Bengal and it seems that the adoration of ten-armed Katyayani by the people of Bengal began prior to this date.

Katyayani also seems to have fascinated the author of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u>. Written in

Raka 700 (corresponding to 779 A.D.), Udyotanasuri's narrative work refers to this particular aspect of the Mother goddess most conspicuously. In one passage 36 of the text the goddess is described as holding a trisula and standing on mahisha, which tallies with her portrayal in the Matsya Purana and Haribhadra's Samaraiccakaha. It should be remembered that in the relevant passage of the Matsva Purana, one of the implements borne by the deity is a trisula. In the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> the king is prepared to offer his head to goddess Katyayani in order to obtain a son. Another passage of the same work mentions the worship of Candika which was accompanied by bloody sacrifices according to Udyotana. It may be inferred from both these references that animal and eyen human sacrifices were a common festure of the Mother goddess cult during this period. Perhaps, it would not be amiss to recall here, the incident related in Bhavabhuti's Malatimadhava 140 wherein the heroine Malati was abducted by the Kapalika Aghora to be sacrificed before the Mother Goddes, Camunda.

However, the most interesting reference in the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> is the shrine of <u>Kottajja</u>, 141 who probably is identical with <u>Kottakiriva</u> of the canonical texts. 142 According to the late V.S. Agrawala, Kottavai was the most ancient goddess of the Tamil country whose worship spread to wards many parts of North India upto the Himalayas, where, at Kottal Garh in Almora District, there is a shrine

dedicated to her. 143 Later she became identified with Parvati. 144 Kottajja, is also called by the following names Amba, Arya, Candika, Durga, and Katyayani in other sections of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u>. 145 Bana refers to her inon as that of nudewoman. 146

The temples and sculpters of Durga at Mahallapuram, present Mahabalipuram, prove the popularity of this cult during the rule of the Pallavas in the South from the seventy century onwards. 147 The Pallavas were later supplanted by the Colas, and it is note worthy that Vijayalaya, the founder of the line of imperial Colas, built a Durga temple at Tanjore, 147a after his conquest of that city about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

Epigraphic references suggest,
that about this time, in Northern India, also, Durga or
Bhagavati found ardent followers in the renowned GurjaraPratihara minarchs. The great Pratihara kings Nagbhata II,
Bhoja I, and Mahendrapala I, whose effulgence in the
political firmment of the country in the ninth century,
shines undimmed through the pages of history, professed
their deep devotion to Durga or the Mother goddess styling
themselves parambhagavati-bhakta in their inscriptions.

The discovery of hundreds of devi icons from different
parts of the country belonging to the early Christian.

Gupta and also the early medieval periods undoubtedly proves

the tremendous popularity enjoyed by the Mother goddess cult throughout India. The inconographic descriptions coupled with actual epigraphic references 149 openly suggest that this cult received imperial patronage for many centuries.

In the early tenth century work of Siddharsi entitled <u>Upamitibhavaprapancakatha</u> (906 A.D), we are told about the worship of Candika with wine and the author speaks of drinking bouts and revelry in the forecourt of the temple of that goddess.

A few decades later, Devasena (933 A.D) in his Bhavasangrha (verse 76) refers to the killing of goats at the altar of Candika.

attention to the worship of the Mother Goddess is none other than the redoubtable Harisena, the author of the

Brhatkathakosa composed in \$931 A.D. during the reign of Pratihara Vinayakapala. A shrine of Durga situated near Nasik has been mentioned in story No. 71 entitled Chelaka-Kathanakkam. Too From the detailed description of this temple given by Harisena, it appears, that it was a protection of the complex of this locality and in all probablity Harisena personally had visited this place. The poet further elaborates that it was a place of bloody sacrifices. Various animals were slaughtered before the idol of Durga, the relevant verse is quoted below:

tanmadhve vikaralashva bhrukutibhisanalika mariva jivasanghanam durgadevi pratishthita 151

An individual called Sudasa, who was a devoted worshipper of Durga, is mentioned in this context. Harisena also recounts 152 the story of the origin of <u>Vindhyavasini</u> — Durga, which is likewise mentioned in other texts.

Pushpadanta, a contemporary of the Rastrakuta king, Krshna-III, and the celebrated author of the Apabhramsa text, Navakumaracarita is also of invaluable help. His reference to the Ambika temple atop Urjayanta (Girnar) hill is of utmost importance. 153 A later authority, jinaprabha in his Vividhatīrthakalpa mentions the same shrine. 154 The relevant passage of this text indicates that it was regarded as one of the Saktapithas and the goddess was worshipped as a Brahmani there. The Jasa haracariyu, another work assigned to Pushpadanta, contains a graphic description of the temple and idol of Candamari, who in the the Routh of Rajapura. 155 The deity is pictured as four-armed and in each hand she holds respectively a cakra, sula, snake and khadga. The image is represented in the from of a skeleton. 155a Elsewhere, in the same work, Candamari is shown holding a trisula. 156 Human sacrifice in the temple is mentioned 157 which was frequented by Saiva Kapalikas. 158 It is interesting to note that Candamari is also called Camunda, a popular nomendlature of Durga, which exists

even to this day. A similar account is given in the Yasastilaka of Somadeva, based on the exploits of the Legendary prince Yasodhara. A contemporary of poet Pushpadanta, the author of the Yasastilaka vividly portrays the Mother Goddess cult as it existed in the mid-tenth century.

The <u>Yasastilaka</u> opens with a sombre description of the temple of Candamari at the town of Rajapura belonging to the Yaudheyas. It is not certain whether this Rajapura is identical with the town mentioned by Yuan Chwang, (7th century). 160 There is another Rajapura near Patiala. In any case, we must place the Rajapura of Somadeva and Pushpadanta somewhere in the North. However, it does not seem likely that the ancient Yaudheya tribe survived as a separate nation upto the tenth century.

The shrine of Candamari depicted in the Yasastilaka was frequented by Mahayoginis and a group of fanatical votaries, who were always involved in abominable forms of self-torture. It was also the haunt of Kapalikas. Moreover, Somadeva tells us 162 that the Mahanavami festival was celebrated with great pageantry in the temple of this dreaded Goddess. Along with other creatures, even human beings were sacrificed in this temple. Amongst the animals offered to the goddess were, according to Somadeva, sheep, o buffaloes, camels, elephants, horses, and also birds and

acquatic creatures.

The Mahanavami festival mentioned by Somadeva in this section of his work has been referred to in several texts, some of which earlier than his time. The first authority to mention this festival appears to be Bana, who wrote his Harshacarita in the early years of the 7th century. It deserves to be noted that Bana speaks of the sacrifice of buffaloes (Mahisha) during the Mahanavami festival. 163 Quite a number of Puranas such as the Devi, Garuda, and a few other Jain writers recount in detail the celebration of Mahanayami. According to some authorities , this festival was observed on the 9th day of the bright half of Asvina. A few others opine that it was also celebrated on the minth day of the month of Caitra. 168 It should not be overlooked that Al-Biruni, 169 the eminent Muslim historian, of 1030 A.D., refers to this festival, which according to him was held on the 8th of the bright fortnight of the month of Asvina. Al-Biruni further comments that Mahanavami was the sister of Mahadeva and informs us that an image of Bhagavati is worshipped on that auspicious day. That it was a horrendous rite is also proved by the evidence of Al-Biruni, who records the fact that even human beings were killed on this occasion.

The <u>Devipurana</u> passage quoted by Prof.

Mahanavami, which undoubtedly was one of the fearful aspects of the Devi or Bhagavati. We are told that the chief patron of this festival was the king, himself, and usually images were made of gold, silver, earth or wood. It was also possible to worship the goddess in a symbolic form by using a consecrated sword or spear. The <u>Devipurana</u> emphasizes the fact that animals were offered before the deity. The relation of Skanda and Visakha, who are the commanders of the <u>Deva army</u>, with the Mahamavami festival is perhaps somewhat significant. It indirectly proves that the sovereign took special interest in this event.

The <u>Garuda Purana</u> 171 refers to the eighteen-armed image of the goddess and also connects it with animal sacrifice. Various other texts also refer to the worship of some form of <u>Devi</u> in the bright half of Asvina and associate the king with its worship. A passage of the <u>Devipurana</u>, quoted by Prof. Handiqui, 172 seems to suggest that the <u>Mahanayami</u> rite was a substitute for the Asvamedha sacrifice.

Somadeva also refers to the worship of the goddess Aparajita an aspect of the Mother goddess.

The benediction of this goddess was sought for the victory of the king on the battlefield. The translation of this passage runs as follows: "May Aparajita contribute to why victory oft and anon, O King! In the sword of kings, she is incarnate as a sword, and in their bow, she assures the shape of Bow. She is incarnate as Arrow in their arrows and as

Arm in their arms and assumes the form of an armour round their bodies. She is as a wishing Gem in fulfilling their desire for trimpth in battles. Her name occurs also in the <u>Devimahatmya</u> section of the <u>Markandeva Purana</u>. 175 where she is represented as one of the aspects of Durga along with <u>Ambika</u>, <u>Katvavani</u>, Gauri etc. In this connection it should be mentioned that the earliest reference to the goddess Aparajita is to be found in the <u>Arthasastra</u> of Kautilya, which definitely proves the autiquity of this particular form of the Indian Mother goddess. Kautilya has remarked that the temple (grha) of this deity should be built, along with those of several other gods like Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Siva, Vaisravana and others, within the town (<u>puramadhye karayet</u>).

The collective testimony of the Jain narrative works, of our period, therefore, conclusively proves that Sakti or the Mother goddess was universally worshipped in early medieval India, in various forms.

Section (iii) : Vaishnavism

Like Siva, Vishnu gradually became one of the popular gods of the early Indian pantheon after the post-Vedic period. Both these deities, although mentioned a number of times in the Vedic literature, were of little consequence amongst the early Vedic gods. However, after

the Vedic period, gods like Indra, Agni, Soma, Varuna etc., gradually lost their importance and the two theistic gods, viz., Siva and Vishnu emerged into the limelight, a position they have held through the centuries even to this day.

Vishnu - worship in the epico-Puranic literature somehow merged with the cult of Vasudeva-Krshna and with the amalgamation of Vasudeva with Vishnu, a new religious system called Bhagavatism was created.

By the time of Panini, 177 Vasudeva
was regarded as a god, which surely proves that Bhagavatism is at least
as old a religious system as Jainism and Buddhism. Patanjali's
(2nd century B.C.) evidence 178 shows that Bhagavatism was
extremely popular in the pre-Christian period and contemporary
epigraphs such as the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of
Heliodorus and other records also fully support the
evidence of the literary texts.

texts like the <u>Sutrakrtanga</u>, ¹⁸⁰ <u>Sthananga</u>, ¹⁸¹ <u>Samavayanga</u> ¹⁸² and <u>Navadhammakanao</u> ¹⁸³ prove that the Jains from the very beginning had a pendhant for Krshna and some of his compatriots. It is also interesting to note, that in the Jain literature, epic horoes such as Rama, Lakshmana, Krshna, Baladeva etc., are represented as great men (<u>Salaka-purushas</u>). Furthermore, the twenty-second Tirthankara viz., Arishtanemi is depicted as a scion of the Yadava family of Dvaraka. All these facts tend to show the proclivity of Jainism to

the cult of Vasudeva-Krshna. Perhaps, an answer for this unusual sympathy of the Jains for a Brahmanical religious system (we have already noticed their animosity towards Saivism and Sakti worship) may be sought within the tenets of Vaishnavism itself. Like Jainism, the followers of Vasudeva-Krshna are avouad vegetarians and believers in the principle of Ahimsa. Their aversion to sacrifice, especially of animals, is as profound as that of the Jains. Therefore, it may be conjectured that Ahimsa formed a bond which enabled these two religious systems to draw closer and elevated Vaishnavism in the gyes of the Jain monks and scholars.

In the non-canonical Jain texts written before the 6th century A.D. like the <u>Paumacariyam</u> (of Vimala) and <u>Vasudevahindi</u> (Sanghadasa) we get the Jain versions of the Brahmanical epico-Furanic texts. The hero of the first work is Rama (called Pauma or Padma by Vimala) and that of the second is Vasudeva, the father of Krshna. In the later period also a large number of Jain texts were written in imitation of the two Indian epics.

One of the earliest literary works of our period is the Padma Purana of Ravisena written in the 7th century A.D. This text is a close Sanskrit translation of of Vimala's Paumacariyam. The very existence of this work indirectly proves the popularity of the Vishnic cult in this period. We should not forget that Bhagavatism was the

official religion of the Imperial Guptas and even in the past-Gupta period it did not cease to enjoy royal patronage. Several dynasties, such as the Calukyas of Badami and the rulers of Valabhi, openly favoured Vaishnavism. Apart from the Padma Purana, many other works were written dealing with the story of Rama. So far as Krshna and his close associates are concerned, there are several works including the Harivamsas of Jinasena and Pushpadanta and the Salakapurushacaritas.

The Jain Harivamsa which was completed by Jinasena, according to his own statement in the Saka year 705, corresponding to 783 A.D., is obviously indebted for many of its details to the Brahmanical Harivansa and a few Vaishnava Puranas. Copious details on Vasudeva-Krshna are furnished by Jinasena , much of which have been clearly obtained from earlier Vaishnava devotional literature. A colourful description of the wrestling bout, between Krshna and his brother Baladeva and the two famous wrestlers Cahura is given. Even some of the minor details are and Mushtika drawn from the original Harivansa. Several achievements of Vasudeva-Krshna viz., his successful participation in the Bharata war, on behalf of the Pandavas, his victory over etc., have been described minutely in the text. However, regarding Krshna's domestic life, especially his affair decoeur and conjugal quarrels with Satyabhama, Rukmini and others have been extensively portrayed by Jinadasa. Krshna's

some of the deeds of his adolescence, described in this work,

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are similar in context to that given in the Vishnuffurana,

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Harivarsa, and the Bhagavata. Other details regarding the
later period of Krshna's like are also faithfully preserved

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by this Jain author. Jinasena, however, gives an interesting
sidelight on Krshna's activities by stating that he became
disgusted with the Pandavas and compelled them to reside at
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aouthern Mathura. Such facts are now incorporated in the
Vaishnava texts dealing with Vasudeva -Krshna.

The Jain Harivamsa, however, narrates stories on the adventures of Vasudeva, the father of Krshna, some of which are obviously influenced by the Brhatkatha tradition regarding the love-exploits of Naravahanadatta. Jinasenas work, further protrays Krshna's slayer Jara (called Jaratkumara) as his brother and an offspring a Vasudeva.

It should also be noted that everywhere
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Jinasena represents Neminatha or Arishtanemi as superior to

Krshna. We should not forget that the details regarding this

Jain Tirthankara are found for the first time in the sixth Jain
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Agamic text viz., the <u>Jnatradharmakatha</u> (<u>Navadharmakatha</u>), and
in that text Neminatha is described as much superior to the

Krshna brothers although he was closely related to them. It
should be remembered that some of the details regarding the
family of Arishtanemi and Krshna given by Jinasena and subsequent

Jain writers are taken from this particular Agamic text, which in turn was indebted to the Vaishnava works.

According to the seventh-century canonical commentator Jinadasagani (saka 598 is one of the definite 196 197 dates for him) Mahavira had visited the shrines of Vasudeva and Baladeva, and both of them were apparently in Bihar. Since nothing has been said regarding these shrines in the original texts, dealing with the life of the twenty-fourth Tirthankara (viz., Kalpasutra and Acaranga) the authenticity of Jijadasa's statement cannot be ascertained. We should not forget that Jinadasa was separated from Mahavira by a gap of nearly 1200 years and thus his evidence must be accepted with circumspection.

However, since Vasudeva was worshipped, according to Panini before 5th century B.C., it is not unlikely that shrines dedicated to him existed in different parts of India. Further, it should be remembered that in the earliest 199 200 canonical texts of both the Jains and the Buddhists, there are references to devakulas and devagrhas and the epics also speak of temples dedicated to gods.

Jinadasa Gani's Nisitha Curni, though not as vociferous as regards Saivism, is not altogether 201 silent about the Vaishnava faith. In one passage, mention is

made of the image of Narayana (Narayanadi padima) which shows that images of Narayana were worshipped by devotees. Moreover, Sirigharas or temple, dedicated to the goddes Sri, are alluded to in this text. Apparently, the worship of Vishnu and his consort Sri or Lakshmi was in vogue and temples dedicated to these deities were very much in existence. Amongst, the various forms of Vishnu, the <u>Nisītha Curni</u> refers to Vasudeva and to the story of his escape from Kazisa's prison while it was heavily guarded. The tale of the origin of the Bhalli Tirtha, the place where Krshna was slain, has also been narrated in the text. Among Vasudeva's kins, Jinadasa mentions Baladeva also known as Mulamda, and we get the very interesting reference to the festival held in honour of Mukunda, i.e. Mukundamaha . From the above details it may be inferred that the worship of Vishnu in various forms, was quite popular during the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. and Vasudeva-Krshna as well as his close associate Baladeva were apotheosized by the people.

The eight century prakrit work, the Kuvalayamala, also contains several references to the Vaishnava or Bhagavata religion. An extremely interesting allusion to the Bhagavadgita occurs in this text. We are informed that this work was part of the school curriculum, and was recited by students. Elsewhere in the Kuvalayamala there are references to Cakrin, meaning Narayana, and his well-known vahana Garuda. Another popular nomenclature of Vishnu to Govinda has been

used at least four times in this work. In this context it should be noted that in this text Govinda is moreover connected with Dvaraka, Narayana, too, seems to have been quite popular. He was invoked in times of distress. In two passages Krshna has been identified with Narayana.

popular gigure from early times, as is apparent from the numerous images of him discovered from different parts of India. The 211

Brhatsamhita describes the made of fashioning Baladeva images 212

and Jinadasa in his Avasyka Curni, written in the second half of the 7the century, has mentioned both the icon and shrine of this deity. Even more interesting, however, is the reference to the festival of Baladeva (Baladevotsava) in the Kuvalayamala, which is described as being held after the rainy season.

The worship of Lakshmi, was also quite popular and as in Vaishnava Puranas, in the <u>Kuvalayamālā</u> she is 214 associated with the god Hari, a common name for Vishnu. Her 215 connection with the lotus has also been emphasized.

Udyotana's predecessor, Haribhadra also indirectly refers to Vishnu in his works. The Samaraiccakaha uses terms such as Paramesvara, Narayana suggesting Vishnu's 218 all-pervasive character. His Dhurtakhyana identifies Kesava

and Krshna with Vishnu showing thereby that by the middle of the eighth century, Krshna's position as an avatara was firmly established in Hindu mythology. In fact, the appellations Kesava and Krshna occur amongst the list of names of Vishnu enumerated by Varahapihira in his <u>Brhatsamhita</u>, which unquestionably proves that the synthesis of the Vedic and cosmic god Narayana with the historic-figure of Vasudeva-Krshna happened even prior to the time of this great astrologer.

Other Jain texts also tesat the Vaishnava gods with a degree of favouritism. We have noted that from the very beginning the Jains shared a harmonious relation with the Bhagavatas and Vaishnavas, because of Neminatha's close connection with the Vrshni family. Raivataka, the mountain connected with the <u>mirvana</u> of Arishtanemi was regarded as a holy mountain and in the Jain canonical texts its sanctity 220 has been recognised. In almost all the Jain texts of our period, Raivataka, otherwise called Urjayanta, has been mentioned with deference, and Dvaraka also is looked upon as a sacred city in the early medieval Jain literature.

Scattered references to Vishnu and his avataras are also to be found in a yew other Jain works of this period. One such book is the <u>Varangacarita</u> of the seventh century writer Jatasimhanandi; Vishnu is described as sathatma in a passage of this work. The well-known Adipurana of

which was composed

Jinasena I, begun after the author had passed his prime, contains some stray references to the cult of Vishnu. Jinasena I mentions in one place the ten avataras of Vishnu. Elsewhere in the same text, Jain temples are shown decorated with flags bearing emblems of lion, Garuda, cow, mayura, garland, lotus, hamsa, elephant 223 cakra, etc. Of these, the Garuda and the cakra are exclusively Vaishnava symbols, closely associated with the gode with t That the Jains used such popular Vaishnava devices to adorn their temples clearly indicates the religious accord they shared with the Bhagavata sect. The Adipurana, moreover, identifies Rsabha, the first Jain Tirthankara, with Vishnu. In both the Uttarapurana (9th century) and Paumacarivu, we have some details regarding Krshna and his family, but they do not yeild and new information. The <u>Dharmapode samala Vivarana</u> of Jayasimha suri, written in V.S. 915, corresponding to 879 A.D., refers to Krshna also as Govinda, one of the names of Vishnu, included in Varahamihira's list. Another work of this time, viz. the Cauppannamahapurushacariyam of Silanka dated V.S. 925, corresponding 867 A.D., mentions the Narasimha incarnation of Vishnu.

appears to be well-versed in Vaishnava love, as is evident from his Navakumaracarita. In one passage, Pushpandanta refers to the sotry of Govinda lifting the Govardhana mountain. Krshna (Simharu) and Baladeva (Halaharu) are mentioned elsewhere in

this work. The poets references to the tenth incarnations of 229

Vishnu and to Krshaa's romantic exploits are reminiscent of his Vaishnava background.

The <u>Yasastilaka</u> contains references to terms and names connected with the Vaishnava or Bhāgavata religion. One <u>Bhāgavata</u> called Āsuri is mentioned in Book V of 232 this text. In another passage there is an interesting reference to Rādhā's relations with Nārāyana and Kṛshna's love for cowhere maidens. The ten incarnations of Vishnu were also known 235 to Sonadeva.

In the <u>Candraprabhacaritae</u> of Viranandi, whose date is approximately the last quarter of the tenth century, the hero is compared to <u>Garuda</u>, the famous mount of 236 Vishnu.

However, as regards epigraphic and other references, the Jain literature of our period do not elicit much information.

other sources, the Jain literature of this period do not shad much light on the actual state of Vaishnavism at that time.

Perhaps, it would be too optimistic to except the Jain diteratures to furnish details about contemporary Vishnu or Krshna temples.

Most of the references to Vaishnavism are mythological in character.

Vaishnavism or Bhagavatism, nonetheless enjoyed immense popularity during that period, the tide continuing unbated from the time of the Imperial Gupta rulers, who styled themselves parama-bhagavatas in their inscriptions and coinlegends. Such royal patronage was extended to Vaishnavism by the mighty Pratihara kings during whose reign temples dedicated to Vishnu abounded at Pehoa, (Punjab), Ahar, (Western V.P) Siyadoni (U.P. 25N. 80E), Gwalior, Ghotarsi (Pratabgarh), Bayana (Bharatpur) and Kanauj . Several images to Vishnu and his incarnations like Varaha, Narasimha etc., and inscriptions referring to Krshna legendshof this period, have been unearthed testifying to the flourishing condition of Vaishnavism. The Adivarahadrammas Bhoja I and his grandson Vinayakapala, discovered from Kanauj, reveal that the cult of Vishnu was firmly entreached in the Pratihara empire. Let us not forget in this context the reference to the god Cakrasvamin of Thanesar by the Muslim historian Albaruni

Section (iv): Minor Cults.

Among the minor gods worshipped in Ancient India, Surya or Sun occupies the position of most importance.

Quite a number of the Vedic gods were nothing but different menifestations of the Sun. In the epics, Surya plays a prominent

role and he is chiefly invoked there to rescue people from distress. The Puranic and other classical texts also refer to the worship of this deity.

In a few Puranas like the Bhavishya, \$\frac{239}{5amba}\$, \$\frac{240}{5amba}\$, \$\frac{241}{5amba}\$, etc., the sun god's association with persians have reprectedly mentioned. Yuan Chwang that intrepid Chinese traveller, had seen the famous Sun - temple of Mulasthana in \$\frac{242}{242}\$ the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. An earlier authority, Varahamihira, speaks of the Sun's close connection with Sakadvipi \$\frac{243}{243}\$ Brahmanas , meaning immigrants from Persia. The well-known temple of Mulasthana has been referred to by almost all Muslim \$\frac{244}{244}\$ writers from the 9th century A.D.

In the Jain literature there are some interesting references to the Mulasthana temple. The earliest Jain authority to refer to this shrine is Udyotana, the author of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> (779 A.D.). He mentions it as <u>Mulasthana 245</u>

Bhattaraka and further refers to the fact that people afflicted withle prosy, flocked to this temple. Thus, Udyotana's remark fully supports the tradition recorded in the above mentioned <u>Puranas</u>, that it was the god of this temple, who had cured Samba of leprosy. The beautiful and vivid description, left by Yuan Chwang, shows that it was built centuries before his time. We are told that everyday 1,000 pilgrims used to visit this temple

gifts on this shrine. "All round the temple were tanks and flowery woods making a delightful resort". It is interesting to note that at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit the main idol was built of gold, but a little before Al-Riruni's time, the same icon was made of wood. Apparently, the Muslims of the occupation of this city took away the gold idoa and replaced it with a wooden one. Sometime before Mahmud's invasion of India, it was destroyed by a Muslim iconoclast named Jalam Im Shaiban. It should be noted here that the Muslims; in spite of their iconoclastic zeal, did not destroy, in the first two hundred years of their occupation, the temple of Mulasthana, as it yielded a very high revenue. Several Muslim writers of the 9th century A.D., have described the opulence of this temple. 247

About one hundred and fifty years after the composition of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u>, Harisena writing in 931 A.D., has mentioned the <u>Adityabhayana</u> of Mulasthana.

Two other prominent places, connected with the Sun-god, namely Mundira and Kalapriya are mentioned in both the <u>Brhatkathakosa</u> and the <u>Kathakosa</u> of Prabhacandra.

These three places were looked upon as the three great <u>tirthas</u> connected with the Sun god.

In the epigraphic records, 249 from the Gupta period down to the end of the Hindu rule, references to Sun-temples are abundant. A famous Sun-temple dedicated to the god Martanda (a popular name of Surya) was built in Kashmir in the first half of the 8th century, which afterwards also became a target of Muslim vandalism.

In the canonical Jain texts Skanda-Karttikeya is quite frequently mentioned 257 as one of the popular deities. He was invoked by people in times of distress along with other gods. There are also references to the festival associated with this god in the earliest In the Angavijia 253 a Jain work written sometime before the Gupta period, there is an allusion to Karttikeya worship. Jinadasa, 254 writing in the 7th century has also mentioned the icon of Skanda, which according to him was seen by Mahavira. All these references prove the popularity of Skanda-cult in earlier times. We learn from the Avasvaka Curni (p.315) that the festival in honour of Karttikeya was held in the month of Karttika; In the narrative works of our period, there are several interesting references to the cult of Skanda-Karttikeya. The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> contains reference; to a temple of Skanda. 255 Here, too, as in the Jain canonical texts people are depicted as invoking this god in the hour of misery and peril. author was also acquainted with the six-headed image of Skanda. 257 He is also called Svamikumara, 258 a name

applied to Skanda especially in South India. The above work also refers to the fact that Skanda was a handsome god. 259 which is corroborated by the evidence of the Brhatsamhita 260 We are further told that animals were sacrificed before the idoh of this god. There are, moreover, several references to the worship of Skanda in contemporary epigraphs, although by the 10th century he was absorbed in the Siva-Parvati family. According to the Samarangara Sutradhara 261 the temple of Skanda and Visakha, should be built towards the northern side of a city. In the Brhatkathakośa (931 A.D) there is a very interesting allusion²⁶² to the Karttikeya worship at Robitaka, which was a famous tirtha of Karttikeya from a much earlier period. In the Mahabharata 263 and the Buddhist Sanskrit text Mahamayuri Karttikeya's connection with Rohitaka have been mentioned.

was an important god of the Brahmanical pantheon from quite early times. Although, epigraphic references to Ganesa are difficult to find in the Gupta records, he appears on a first century coin of Hermacus and is also mentioned as Lambodara in a Jain Agamic text. 265 According to Bhoja's (circa 1000 A.D.) Samarangana-Sutradhara 266 the temple of Ganesa should be built towards the southern direction of the city. The evidence of Amarakosa 267 proves his popularity in the Gupta period. Several Gupta icons of this god are now known.

Haribhadra's <u>Dhurtakhyana</u> notes the Puranic story of his birth from the dirt on Parvati's body.

The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> shows acquaintance with Ganesa or Vinayaka worship, who was, like Karttikeya, invoked during moments of distress. 269 This characteristic of Ganapati is referred to in somewhat later inscriptions. 270 Somadeva, in his <u>Yasastilaka</u> 271 mentions Vinayaka.

Edyotana, moreover, is familiar with the names Gajendra 272 and Ganadhipa, two popular appellations of Ganapati during whose worship animals were sacrificed. Siddharsi (p.1) in his <u>Upamitibhavaprapancakatha</u> calls Ganesa

Sarasvati was worshipped from the very beginning not only by the Hindus, but also by the Buddhists and Jains. A Mathura Jain inscription of the early second century A.D., records the dedication of an image of Sarasvati; this is one of the earliest epigraphic records mentioning this goddess and Ot this proves the intimate connection of Sarasvati with the Jain religion. An earlier sculpture of Sarasvati was discovered from Bharhut. In the Yasastilaka of Somadeva composed in the 10th century A.D., there is some useful information on this particular deity. It should be noted that Sarasvati was not only a goddess of speech and learning (the Mathura Sarasvati significantly holds a manuscript in one of her hands) 274 but a deity associated with drama. She was

invoked before the commencement of a play (rangapuja). 275

She repels, according to Somadeva, the darkness of ignorance.

She is even represented as superior to Brahman, Sripati

(i.e. Vishnu) and Sambhu (Siva). To a devout Jain, she is both a Srutadevata and Vagadevata. Eksewhere also in this text, Somadeva has shown his deep veneration for Sarasvati.

Prof. Handiqui has drawn our attention to several Sarasvati temples of the Decaan. It should be remembered that the earliest literary authority to refer to a temple of Sarasvati is Vatavayana. 279

Prof. J. N. Banerjea in his well-known work on Iconography has discussed several Sarasvati images. 280

Section (v): Condition of Buddhism and Jainism

was the greatest rival of the Jain religion. Although, the canonical texts of the Buddhists often attack the Jains, Buddha and his followers are almost completely ignored in the Jain religions texts. Beyond a few acattered references to the Buddhist doctrine, there is practically no reference to Buddha himself, in the early canonical literature of the Jains. The Sutrakrtanga contains the details of discussion between a Jain and the Sakyaputriyas.

In the <u>Curni</u> of that work, compiled in the 7th century and also in other <u>Curnis</u> of Jinadasa,

Buddha is correctly called the son of Suddhodana.

However, in the latter narrative literature, there are useful accounts of Buddhism and a number of stories are told about the bitter rivalry of these two heterodes sects.

The <u>Knvalayamala</u> contains a number of references to Buddhist doctrine and shrines. ²⁸¹. A certain Buddhist temple of Vijayapuri where Buddhist metaphysical teachings were discussed is mentioned in a passage of this work. ²⁸² In another section, particular Buddha image has been mentioned. This work also refers to Buddhist <u>Bhikshus</u>. It also refers to the rivalry between the Jains and the Buddhists. (203, 25)

In a slightly earlier text, the Warangacarita, the author Jatila 283 criticises the Buddhist doctrine of Sunyata. But it should not be forgotten that the eminent Jain philosophers themselves wrote commentaries on the Buddhist works of logic. We may refer to Haribhadra's commentary on Dinnaga's Nyapravesa. 284

As a matter of fact, it is because of Haribhadra's commentary that the famous work of that

illustrious Buddhist acholar has survived in Sanskrit.

The most vivid picture of the rivalry between Jainism and Buddhism is to be found in the Brhatkathakosa of Harishena. During the Ashtahnika festival in Phalguna, Ashadhay and Karttika, decorated chariots belonging to the Jains were taken out. The Buddhists also used to display the chariots of Buddha (Buddharatha). This was an occasion of extreme rivalry between the followers of either religion, and one such story regarding the clash of the Buddhists and Jains at Mathura is preserved in this particular text of <u>Harishena</u>. 285 It should be remembered that in much earlier works like the Paumacariyam of Vimala and Silappadkaram car-festival has been mentioned. That the chariot-festival was also popular amongst the Buddhists from early times is apparent from the reference to a Buddhist chariot procession by Fa-hien. 288 Elsewhere in the Brhatkathakosa there are other vivid details of the rivalry of these two sects. In another story of this text a pointed reference to a Buddhist vihara situated in the Andhra country. In this connection we have also an attack on the Buddhist religion, and there is an interesting reference to the three Pitakas. 289c appears that the poet Harishena here is attacking the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which is based on the doctrine of Sunyata. 289d Yet another story of Harishena's poem

tells us the story of the rivalry of the Buddhists and the Jains and we are told how the Buddhists were defeated by the Digambaras. It further appears from story no. 12 of this work that both Jainism and Buddhism were popular in the Mathura region at least upto the 10th century, a fact confirmed by the evidence of the available epigraphs of that region.

In the inscriptions of our period also there are accounts of the rivalry of Buddhism and Jainism. In this connection we may refer to the fragmentary stone inscription of Butuga II (middle of the 10th century) found from the Shimoga district of Karnaphira, which mentions Akalanka's victory over the Buddhists. The king Butuga II himself is represented in one of his records as having defeated the Buddhists. The victory of Akalanka, the great Jain savant, over the Buddhists is also mentioned by a Jain author of the 11th century called Prabhacandra in his Kathakosa. The same book, it is interesting to note, cantains reference to a Buddhist Vihara of Dhanyakaranagara

in the Andhra country, the existence of which is disclosed by several inscriptions.

The Cauppannamahapurushacariyam of Silanka written in the 9th century mentions Buddhism as the official religion of Ceylon. In Pushpandanta's Navakumaracariyam (10th century), also, there is severe criticism of Buddhist wo views. However, such criticisms of Buddhist doctrine is found everywhere in Jain philosophical works.

authors towards the Buddhists is also reflected in the earlier

7th century work, <u>Nisitha Curni</u> of Jinadasa. We find here

Buddhist monks mentioned as enemies (<u>paccalthiva</u>. <u>Pretvantka</u>)

or thoms (<u>Buddhakantaka</u>) towards whom no charity should be

shown by householders. The Buddhist doctrine is described

as a false belief born out of ignorance (<u>mithiga</u> dishti)

and its fallowers as ignorant people who believed in false

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principles mistaking them for the ultimate truth .Moreover,

the Buddhist manks were deemed to be unware of the true religion

even after showing their head and renouncing their home.

According to Jinadasa, the Buddhists, could not be regarded

as <u>bhikki</u> as they did not observe proper rules in regard to

accepting of alms. This laxity regarding food on the part of

the Buddhists has been insinuated by various Jain authors. The former were highly condemned by the Jainas for flesh -eating 300 (practised by Higavanists only). The author of the Nisitha-Curni fiercely attacks this practice of the Buddhists. The same contemptuous attitude is shown by other Jain authors, regarding the consumption of meat by the Buddhists.

Somadeva in his <u>Yasastilaka</u>

remarks "Buddhists are the first among the communities which 302 prescribe eating of flesh". In another passage he says, "How can a wise man respect the Buddhist who is addicted to flesh and wine"? Thus, we may deduce that matters of food and drink the Buddhists were not very rigid which naturally drew censure from the strictly vegetarian Jain writers of our period. Somadeva in his work even attacks the Buddhist doctrine. In the Yasastilaka we are confronted with a Buddhist monk called 303 Sugatakirti, who maintains that Self is nothing but the certain blindness of a great delusion. It is interesting to note bathat Somadeva in this text criticises both the earlier and later 304 Buddhist philosophical system. He also severly ridicules the Mahayana doctrine of Sunyata.

The Buddhists, on their part, did not hesitate to retaliate and have also vehenently denounced Jain practices. In the earlier canonical texts are scattered

very serious condemnation of the Nirgranthas . In somewhat later texts such as the Saddharma - Bundarika we are told that the Bodhisattva must avoid the preceipts of Arhat meaning the Jains. Yuan Chwang (7th century) has also radiculed the Jain doctrines. Novertheless, it appears, that the Jain criticism of Buddhist customs is much more harsh. Devasena, who flourished before Somadeva, in his Bhavasangraha as noted by Handiqui , has very sternly disapproved of the Buddhist custom of eating flesh and wine. In the Varangacarita Buddha is called ferocious (raudra) and merciless, apparently because be sanctioned the eating of meat. In the Brhatkathakosa Hariséna calls Buddhism a heartless doctrine. These references amply prove that the Buddhists were not only disliked for their idealogical differences by the Jains, but also for their way of life.

The Buddhist way of life has not only been the object of reproach by Jain writers of those times, but also by the Hindu authorities. The most serious attack comes from the author of the Mattavitasaprahsana who paints the 312 Buddhists as affluent, and essentially corrupt.

The author Mahendravarman (early

7th century A.D.) further opines that Buddhists doctring

have
has unscrupulously taken matters from Vedanta, the Mahabharata

and other Hindu sastras without acknowledging their debt to

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those Brahmanical works. In almost similar language the 10th — century author of the <u>Prabodhacandredova</u> has criticised both Buddhism and Jainism.

However, in spite of the acrimony of our Jain authors regarding the Buddhists and their faith, it may be added that the Buddhists enjoyed a certain amount of respect amongst the nobility and the public. Many of the Hindu kings, though unfavourably disposed towards the Jains, were tolerent towards Buddhism. The sanction given to Jainse monks 316 to wear Buddhist apparel where the king was influenced by them or in regions where the Buddhists were held in esteem testify to this fact. Animate debates took place between the two rival faiths in which the Jains are always shown as emerging victorious.

However, it should not be supposed that the Jains had not respect for some of the philosophical views of the Buddhists. We have already stated that in the 8th century Haribhadra had written a commentary on Dinnaga's Nyapravesa. Afterwards Mallavadin wrote a commentary on the Nyapravesa. Afterwards Mallavadin wrote a commentary on the Nyapabindutika of Dharastara. A few other Jain commentaries 319 on Buddhist texts of logic are known.

Both the Jain and contemporary

Brahmanical writers frequently refer to a class of ascetics
called Sakkas or Sakyas. They were none other than Buddhist

monks who were also variously known as Bhikku , Taccaniya and Rattapada, (Raktapata) . Raktapata was a common epithet of the Buddhist monks of the time. Bana also mentions the Buddhist monks as clas in red attire. Divakaramitra, the Buddhist sage, is shown as clad in a soft red attire as if he were the eastern quarter of the sky bathed in the morning sun 4 shine, teaching the other quarters to assume the red buddhist attire. Harsha also tells the sage Divakaramitra that " at the end when I have accomplished the design, she (Rajyasri) and I will assume the red garments (Kashavani) together". In the Kadambari also the Buddhist nuns are described as wearing clothes, red like the skin of the ripe Tala tree. Jinadasa informs us that the Buddhist monks and nuns utilized the bark of the Arjuna (teak) and Kandala (plantain) tree for dyding their clothes red.

The <u>Raktapatas</u> are also known to the dramatist Bhasa. The 9th century work <u>Dharmspadesamala</u> of Jayasimha is famaliar with the Buddhist sect.

Although the Jains have attacked
Buddhist doctrines in their works, we have seen that they
were not only acquainted with Buddhist logic and philosophy,
but actually wrote commentaries on Buddhist works of logic.
These commentaries only prove the respect the Jain philosophers
of our period had for their Buddhist counterparts.

The second secon

The available narrative Jain texts and commentaries of this period contain a faithful account of the flourishing conditon of the religion proppgated by Parsva and Mahavira. A few earlier works like the Paumacariyam and the Vasudevahindi have given us some idea about the conditon of Jainism in the early Christian period. Paumacariyam shows that Jainism was not only popular in eastern India but also in Western part of this Sub-Continent. It mentions a shrine of the Tirthankara Suvrata at Saketa and also describes how Jainism was first popularised at This work also describes some popular Jain Mathura. festivals. We are further told the Jain idols were usually set up in the houses of citizens and they were worshipped 334 with performed water, milk, curd and ghee. also gives a good idea of Jainism in the Gupta period.

the Gupta period, Jainism was gradually losing it, popularity in the places of its origin viz. Bihar and U.P. and by 600 A.D., neguregions came under its influence. A large part of western India succumbed to the proselytizing zeal of the Jain monks. The extreme South was probably lost to Jainism for ever as none of the ruling dynasties cared for this religion. In the Eastern Escean, however, Jainism lingered for a while but the western Decean remained faithful to the

Jains faith for six centuries more. Till the beginning of the Pala period, Rengal also welcomed the Jain monks. The advent of the Palas, however, heralded their decline in this region, as the ruling dynasty openly patronised Buddhism. While the Svetambaras flourished in Gujarat and Rajasthan, the Digambaras continued to thrive in Marketira and Karnataka and some other parts of N. India. The Jains were still firmly entrenched in Mathura but the paucity of Jain Inscriptions here between 600 A.D. - 1000 A.D., seem to indicate that the common people of Mathura were gradually losing interest in the religion of the Arhat. Nonetheless, the Jain temple-complex of Mathura used to attract a large number of pilgrims from different parts of the country. We should further remember that most of the Jain texts, including commentaries and original works belonging to both the Digambaras and Svetambaras, were produced either in Western India or Western Decean.

One of the earliest texts of our period viz. the Padma Purana of Ravisena, in spite of being more or less a fine translation of the prakrit poem of Vimala, indirectly reflect the popularity of Jainism in the Decean.

Ravisena and a few of his spiritual predecessors, it appears, belonged to the Western Decean and more than once, he refers to the beautiful shrines of the south. The Varangacarita, another Jain text of this century gives a better account of the condition of Jainism in the South. The author sketches the

picture of the magnificent and gorgeous Jain temples in which images of precious stones were erected and worship was 337 conducted on elaborate scale with multifarious rituals. The merit of building temples, erecting images and performing 538 pujas is highly extolled. We are told that scenes from the Puranas (probably both Jain and Brahmanical) were painted or carved on the walls of temples and picture - scrolle are also 339 mentioned in this connection. It is also very significant that the writer has spoken of royal gifts of villages and 340 human services etc., to the temples.

It should not be forgotten that the author of the Varangacatika flourished at a time when the Western Calukyas of Vatapi and the Gangas of Karnataka were ruling in the South. We definitely know that even before the time of Janasimha, the Calukyas openly patronised the Jains and one of the greatest Jain poets to receive their patronage 341 was Ravikirti, who has left behind an important present of his benefactor Pulakesin II, the conqueror of the redoubtable Harsha of Uttarapatha. Before the Western Calukyas, the Kadambas favoured the Jains, as is evident from a number of Jain epigraphs. Even in the extreme Kouth where Jainism did not receive much reyal support, it continued to exist side by side with orthodox religious systems. However, with the accession of Mahendravarman, it seems, that Jainism received a setback as Makendravarman

himself ridicules both Buddhism and Jainism in his well-known work Mattavikāsaprahasana. Another 7th century work namely the Nisitha Curni of Jinadasa proves the great popularity of Jainism in Western India in that century. There are numerous references to Jina temples. It also throws light on the Jain teachers and monks and also Jain festivals 344 etc. Mathura was considered a Jain tirtha.

A number of Jain texts, written in the 8th century gives us a close and intimate picture of the state of Jainism both in Western India and Decaen. The 346 Prasasti of the Kuvalayamala greatly helps us in understanding the condition of the Jain religion of Western India. This prasasti informs us that Bhinnamala was a great tirtha (Jalon), a fact confirmed by some other epigraphs and literary texts. The Prasasti further refers to the temples of Gurjaradesa and those of the towns of Agasavana (Mear Jalon) and Javalipura (Jalon). We further learn from the same prasasti that the work was composed in the temple of Rshabhanatha at Javalipura, which was built by one Ravibhadra apparently before the time of Udyotana.

Elsewhere in his work also, Udyotana, refers to the thriving condition of Jainism. He has especially mentioned the beautiful icons of Rshabhanatha, the first Jain Tirthankara which was studded with costly and rare gems. The

association of Yaksha icons with the images of the Tirthankaras 348 has also been mentioned by Udyotana .

Haribhadra, who had taught Udyotana the science of logic, was originally a resident of Citrakuta (Chitor). It seems that during his time, this particular region of Rajasthan was quite well-known for its Jain temples and buildings. In the 350 comparaice akana, Haribhadra, also we get details about the life of Jain monks and nuns. The elderly monks used to give lectures 351 on the tenets of Jainism. The Jain nuns also enjoyed a high position in those days. The superior nuns were known as ganing, and they were greatly honoured in those days. The first Tirthankara Rshabha enjoyed a special position among the 354 gods of the Jain pantheon.

The wailable Jain inscriptions and 355 also the evidence of the <u>Vividhatirthakalpa</u> directly testify to the flourishing condition of the Jain religion in different parts of Rajasthan including Satyapura (Sanchor), Vasantapura (Vasantagaḍh), Ukeśa (Osia) etc. That Vasantapura was a great Jain centre is very clear from a close study of the <u>Dharmapadesamala</u> written by Jiwasimha in V.S. 915, corresponding to 867 A.D., during the time of Pratihara Bhoja at Nagapura (Nagaur, Rajasthan). In this particular work, Vasantapura (Sirohi dist.) is repeatedly mentioned. This particular place, it is

interesting to note, has yielded a 7th century Jain icons. Jayasimha further significantly refers to the shrine of Muni Suvrata at Bhrgukaccha, which was also popularly known as Sakunikavihara. This particular shrine is frequently mentioned in later records and literary works, and a detailed description of this temple - complex will be found in the Vividhatirthakalpa Jayasimha has further described the glorious condition of Jainism in Mathura. It is also apparent from this 9th; century work of Jayasimha that there was intense rivalry between the Svetambaras and Digambaras in Northern India, at that time. The connection of Ujjayini with the Jain religion has also been emphasized in this work. The holy hill of Satrunjaya, (kalitana), it seems, was associated with the Jain religion from a much earlier period. It is mentioned for the first time in the 6th Anga text, the Navadhammakahao and afterwards in the Avasyakacurni and in the Harivansa Purana of 783 A.D. This shows that even before the Christian period, Satrunjaya was connected with Jainism. Similarly, Raivataka or Urjayanta, too, was associated with the Jain religion from a very early period, probably as early as 3rd century B.D.

Jinasena's <u>Harivansa Purana</u>

indirectly testifies to the popularity of Jainism in Gujarat and the Decam. We learn from the <u>Prasasti</u> of this work that Jinasena originally belonged to the Punnata country, which

meant Karnataka. The work was commenced in the temple of Parsva at Vardhamana. We are informed that it was built by one king Nanna, whose identification with the Kalacuri or Kataccuri Nanna (of the 6th century) has been suggested 366 recently by a scholar. We are further told that the work was completed in the Saka year 705, corresponding to 788 A.D., at the temple of Santinatha at Dostatika (near Girnar). The contents of the Prasasti thus reveal that there were temples dedicated to Jain Tirthamkaras in different places of Gujarat much before the 8th century A.D.

Both the Mahapurana and Uttarapurana written respectively by Jinasena I and Gunabhadra in the 9th century also reflect the popularity of the Jain religion at that time. The picture of Jainism in the Decgan has been 367 occasionally delinested by these two poets. The contemporary work of Jayasimha entitled Dharmapadesam avivarana written during the rule of Pratihara Bhoja, as already noticed, refers to magnificent Jina temples of Rajasthan. We have already taken note of the town of Vasantapura (modern Vasantagadh) which obviously was very great centre of Jainism. Elsewhere, the author describes the Sakunikavihara of Bhrgukacca. According to the Jain tradition, it was built a princess of Ceylon named Sudarsana. It was apparently built centuries before the time of Jayasimha. The work also refers to the Digambara

temples (Vasahi) of the South. The author also refers to Jain temples and Jain icons. It is also apparent from the work that there was itense rivalry between the two Jain sects viz., the Svetambaras and Digambaras, which is corroborated by the Brhatkathakosa of Harishena written a century later. The earlier work, namely the Dharmapadesamala more than once paints the Digambaras as inferior monks. On the other hand, 371 the Brhatkathakosa depicts the Svetambarat monks as impostors. 372 It informs us that they had originated at Valabhi.

We will see in the next chapter that several places of both Northern and Southern India became closely associated with Jainism. There is, therefore, little doubt and as indicated by the available Jain epigraphs, of this period, that the religion of the Falais was quite popular in several parts of India.

Section (vi) : Important Festivals.

part of the life of the people of India. From ancient times, festivals connected with seasons and religious observances were

quite common. Even in the Vedic literature there are references to festivals and the Vedic word for 'festival' is samana, 374 which, however, has been explained in different ways. It is argued that the Vedic festivals had probably no religious 375 bias. The Mahabharata contain references to festivals associated with the worship of gods such as Pasupati (Siva), 376 associated with the worship of gods such as Pasupati (Siva), 377 378 Brahman and Indra. The term samaja in the sense of 'festival' is used for the first time in this great epic and in those early days it was both a religious and secular affair. 380 The samaja related to Draupadi's svayamvara was more a cultural event and naturally different from the samaja held in veneration of the god Pasupati, mentioned in the same Book (chapter 131) of the Mahabharata.

of all types of festivals and this is evident from the first 381
Rock Edict of that illustrious monarch. However, the early
Buddhist texts, written both in Pali and Sankrit contain 382
several references to festivals. Samaja were popular 383 384
according to both the Mahavastu and Saundarananda even at Kapilavastu, the two of the Sakyas. The Jatakas also mention festivals associated with various seasons. The elephant385
festival is mentioned in the Sasima Jataka and the Kattika
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festival is described in the Sanjiva Jataka.

The Jain Agamic works refer to festivals in honour of gods such as Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Mukunda and demons like vakshas, ghosts, goblins etc. One of the earliest Agamic texts, viz., the Acaranga, alludes to the festivals of these gods and it is apparent from the relevant passage of the work, that such festivals were quite common and the Jain monks are advised to avoid such congregations. It is interesting to note that the first festival mentioned in the Acaranga and apparently repeated in other Anga texts, was that glorifying Indra, the most magnificent of the Rgvedic deities, whose festival, according to the Mahabharata first celebrated by the powerful Cedi king, Uparicara Vasu . This Indra festival is mentioned not only by classical writers 391 such as Bhasa, Sudraka, Kalidasa, Harsha and others, but also by all the Jain creative writers and commentators of the early medieval period.

One of the earliest Jain literary 393 sources of this period viz., the Nisitha Curni of Jinadasa, composed in the second half of the seventh century, enlightens us that the Imdamaha (Indra festival) was celebrated in the Lada (Lata) country on the full-moon day of the month of Sravana (July-August). However, the same work also mentions that at Pratishthana, the capital of the Satavahana rulers, the Indra-festival was observed in the month of Bhadra. That

this month was the actual time for the Indra-festival is also confirmed by the extremely valuable testimony of the 395
Brhatsamhita. Varahamihira avers that this festival lasted from the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Bhadra to the full-moon day of that month.

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The Brhatsamhita further informs us that a king desirous of victory must observe the Indra festival. It is further evident from the same work that almost every citizen took active part in the celebration of this 397 %(& festival. According to the Harivamsa, Vishnu and Bhagavatage Puranas this festival was extremely popular among the gopas of Mathura and Vrndavana. That even Bhasa was acquainted with this tradition is apparent from his Balacarita. The dramatists Sudraka and Sriharsha specifically refer to this festival. Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara also mentions the Indra festival. Kalhana, the author of the Rajatarangini refers to this festival thrice theer the name Indradvadasi. As known from Brhatsamhita, the actual raising of the fashti or danda of Indra was done on the dvadasi day of Bhadra. The Rajatarangini also tells us that this festival was favoured by a warlike king named Sussala. It is interesting to note that in the Vaishanava Puranas Vasudeva-Krshna is painted as an enemy of Indra and is described as opposed to the holding of this festival. 405

Even in the Mahabharata, Krshna is a rival of Indra. But there is absolutely no doubt that Krshna's presence could not diminish the enthusiasm of the general people for this festival. The Indra-festival is also frequently mentioned by Udyotanasuri in his Kuvalayamala. In the opinion of a later writer, the Indra-festival could even be celebrated during spring-time. Abhayatilaka Gani, the commentator of the Dvyasraya of Hemacandra comments that in his time (thirteenth century) Indrapuja began from the eighth of the bright half of Asvina upto the full-moon day of that month. The Ramayana also upholds this date. This particular festival is also conspicuously mentioned in several other later Jain texts including the voluminous Trisastisalakapurashacaritra of the distinguished Hemacandra as also in the original Dvyasraya of that author.

The festival of Skanda, mentioned in the Acaranga passage shows the popularity of that god in the early days. The Jain works often refer to this deity, who was not only favoured during the Gupta period, but also in post -Gupta times. A temple of Karttikeya (Shanmukha) is 413 mentioned in the Kuvalayamala. The Mukunda festival referred to in the Acaranga certifies that popularity of Vishnu -Kṛshna worship.

Vasantotsava or the spring_festival

Apastamble Dharmasutra preserves the memory of this colourful festival and according to Haradatta, the commentator of that text, it was held on the thirteenth of the first half of 415 Caitra. The festival of spring was also linked with the festival of the god of love, viz., Kamadeva. This festive occasion has been mentioned by the two doyens of Sanskrit literature, Bhasa and Kalidasa in their works Carudatta and 417 418 Malavikagnimitram, Sakuntala respectively. A detailed account 419 of the Vasantotsava will also be found in the Ratnavali of Harsha.

Almost all the Jain text, speak of

the festival of spring. It is mentioned in the Agamic texts

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and commentaries and also in the Paumacariyam, probably the
earliest dated non-Agamic Jain work. It is stated in this work
that the festivities involved, drinking liquor by both men and
women amidst merriment, to the accompaniment of instrumental
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music. According to the commentary of the Navadharmmakahag
during the spring-festival the god Kamadeva was worshipped

amidst splendour and mirth. Kamadeva, according to the ningthSvetambara writer, strange was worshipped by women, desireus
of good husbands. The seventy century Nisitha Curni mentions
the spring-festival or Vasantotsava several times. A much
more detailed account of the spring-festival also called

Madana-Trayodasi will be found in the eighth-century Jain

text, the <u>Kuvalayamala</u>. It also associates this festival with the worship of the god Kamadeva.

historian, has mentioned the spring-festival under the name
Hindoli -Caitra, in which women played a prominent role and
demanded presents from their spouses. The spring-festival
dedicated to the god Makaradhwaja (another name of Kamadeva)
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has been described by Somadeva in his Yasastilakacampu. This
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particular festival was held at Ujjayini. The Samaraiccakaha
of Haribhadra, a work slightly earlier than the Kuvalayamala,
contains several references to the Madana-festival. Undoubtedly
this festival was extremely popular in Rajasthan in the
eighth century as we know that the author, Haribhadra, was
originally a resident of Citrakūta or Chitor. Siddharshi,
another eminent writer of our period, in his Upamitibhaya 429
prapancakatha has also referred to the Vasantotsava.

The famous <u>Kaumudi</u> festival celebrated on the full-moon day of the autumnal month of Karttika, even pre-Buddhist times, was probably the most popular festival of India. It is mentioned in the <u>Mudrarakshasa</u> and we get a vivid description of this celebration in the <u>Jatakamala</u> of Aryasura. The Jain works of our period, also, frequently refer to this festival in which young boys and girls indulged

in love-making and the whole town wore a look of gaiety. The

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Nisitha Curni states that garland-makers brought beautiful

flowers and garlands on this festive occasion which fetched

a high price amongst the revellers. Udyotanasuri, too, has

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mentioned this festival in his Kuvalayamala. It is generally

distinguished from the festival of Dipavali which was celebrated

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on the new-moon day of Karttika. Haribhadra, in his Samaraiccakaha

gives a lucid description of the Kamudimahotsaya, which has

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also been recorded in the Ramayana. The Mamous Kamasutra of

Vatsyayana pointedly refers to this festival as well as the

Priyadarsika of Sriharsha. Al-biruni, too, has mentioned the

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festival of the full-moon day of Karttika. The Tilakamaniari

of the Jain writer, Dhanapala mentions the Kamudimahotsaya

which took place on the full-moon day of Karttika.

The Dipavali or the festival of lights, is noticeably mentioned in as early a text as the 440 Kalpasutra, wherein it is stated to have been held on the night of Lord Mahavira's demise. The same festival has also been referred to in the Kuvalavamala. Al-Biruni, too, describes it as being celebrated on the first of Karttika, in his 442 narrative. According to this famous Muslim historian, it was also known as the festival of Bali-rajya. It is said that on this day Lakshmi liberates Bali for one day only.

Apart from the festival of hights,

Apart from the festival of lights

Alt-Biruni's informative compilation has noted several other festivals connected with various gods and goddesses of the Hindus, prevalent in 1030 A.D. Amongst these were some connected with the worship of Durga which were celebrated on the following days : 3rd Vaisakha, 8th Asvayuja (known as Mahanavami festival), 3rd Margasirsa and 3rd Magha. He also refers to a festival observed in kashmir on the second of Caitra, which according to him, was celebrated in commemoration of king Muttai's victory over the Turks. It has been suggested that this Muttai was no other than the renowned Lalitaditya Muktapida who according to the Rajatarangini defeated the Turks. Kalhana further elucidates that Lalitaditya Muktapida had actually started a big festival at a place called Parihasapura, Al-Biruni, moreover, fefers to the famous Ashtaka festival (eighth day of the white half of Pausha) mentioned in the Vedic texts and the well-known Sivaratri observed on the 16th of Phalguna.

or Nandisvara, Refines etc. were exclusively by the Jain community. The famous Nandisvara festival was celebrated three times in a year, during the week beginning from the lunar eighth in the month of Karttika, Phalguna and Ashadha.

As the festival was observed for eight days it was also known

king Salivahana of Paithana as it coincided with the date of the Indra festival in his region. Thereon, this festival as acquired the same Samanapuya amongst the people of Maharashtra. Till today, the Jains observe Parvusana from the twelyth of the dark half of Bhadrapada to the fifth of the bright half of it.

The object of this festival was to free a person from sins committed throughout the year. Hence, an atthema fast had to be undertaken by a monk, though a layman could fast according to his individual capacities. An yearly confession of sins was made on this occasion and old enmitties were forgotten. The festival of Pajjusana also marked the beginning of the monsoon retreat for the monks.

During the Pajjusana days, the
Pajjosavana-kappa was studied by the monks, but its recitation
aloud at daytime was not permitted. We are, however, told
that in the central Caityagrha of Anandapura, the Pajjosavanakappa was read out before all the people, it was nonetheless
recited by a Pasattha. It may be inferred that both monks
and laymen spent a great deal of time in the temples or
Clityas during Pajjusana (Sancart Paryushana)

Besides these major Brimanical and
Jain festivals, a few other local ones are mentioned in the
literature of our period? The <u>Dasakumaracarita</u> of Dandin,
a representative work of this time, alludes to two festivals.
One was celebrated in Sravasti and the other at Damalipta
in the Suhma country. The festival at Sravasti, according to
Dandin, centered around and deity <u>Tryambaka</u> (Siva). At
Damalipta, (i.e. Tamralipta, modern Tamluk) the festival
was known as <u>Kandukotsava</u> and was expressely connected
with the Godless Vindhyavasini, another name of Durga. Dandin
gives a vivid account of the celebrations in which the chief
articipant was the princess of Damalipta herself.

Another festival referred to in Sutra literature as well as Jain texts is the Anake festival. The Kathasaritsagara refers to a festival honouring the snake god Vasuki. Kalhana, too, mentions the festival of Naga, which was observed on the 12th of the dark half of Jyashtha. The Kathasaritsagara also refers to Ganesa (Vinayaka) festival and the worship of a golden image (ratna-Vinayaka) of that god. Whilst speaking of the snake-festival the golden image of Vasuki is also mentioned by Somadeva. This tends to suggest that image worhsip formed an integral part of most religious festivals.

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- 4. Agrawala, V.S. Paninikalin Bharatyarsa, p. 345.
- 5. Explanation on Panini, V. 3, 99.
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- 8. See Madhyamavyayoga (Chowkhamba), 66, 36, 140.
- 9. See Kamasutra, p. 14 (Chowkhamba).
- 10. See Malalasekera, D.P.P.N., for the necessary entry.
- 11. See S.B.E. Vol. 22, p. 92.
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- M. Nos.6, 15, 22 etc.
- 26. See The Classical Age, pp. 259 ff; also pp. 432 f.
- 27. See <u>Varāngacarita</u> 25, 84.
- 28. <u>Ibid.</u> 25. 45 ff.
- 29. Kuvalayamala, edited by A.N. Upadhye (Bombay, 1959, 1970).
- 30. <u>Ibid.,</u> 26, 8, 9.
- 31. Loc+cit.
- 32. Brhatsamhita BY, XYI, 5; XLVII, 77.
- Brhatsamhita, LVII. 43 (vam Fardhe va girisut arddham).

 Several images of Kasana and Gupta period of this

 Ardhanarisvara aspect from Mathura have been discovered.

 See V.S. Agrawala, Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art,

 Nos. 362, 800, 874; K. D. Bajpai, Sagar Through the

 Ages. PI. VI. A partly mufilated life eige of

 Ardhanarsvara image has been found at Sagar.
- 34. <u>Kuvalayamala</u> 149. 15.
- 35, <u>Ibid</u>, 82. 32.
- 36. <u>Kadambari</u> (Chowkhamba ed.), pp. 388 f.
- 37. <u>Harsacarita</u>, p. 1.
- 38. Nisitha Curni, p. 146, (ruddagharam mahadevaya tanamityarthah).
- 39. <u>Ibid</u>, 1. p. 105.
- 40. Nisîtha Curni, I. p. 10; also sen M. op.cit., p.292.
- 41. See the prasasti of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> (ed. Upadhye)p. 282.

- 42. Samaraiccakaha, Book VI, 6.
- 43. Mrcchatika (Chowkhamba ed.) p. 162 (III rd Act.)
- 44. Harivamsa,
- 45. <u>Harsacarita</u>, Tr. p. 10.
- 46. Malatimadhama, Act. III.
- 47. Antagadadasão, p. 74 (Barnett's trans).
- 48, See <u>Harsacarita</u> Book VI, p. 353, <u>Kadamkari</u>,
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 I, 125, 136; III, 183-184, VII, p. 162; VIII, p. 120.
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 I, pp. 171 f.
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- 58. <u>Yasastilaka</u>, II, p. 251 (Book V, V. S. 71)
- 59. Mattairlavilasaprahasera, Chowkhamba ed. p. 8.
- 60. Handiqui, op.cit., p. 439.
- 61. See Yasastilaka, II, p. 277 (quoted by Handiqui, p. 213f. n. 1)
- 62. See Naisadha carita, 22.86.

- 63. See in this connection Handiqui's detailed discussion op-cit, pp. 206 ff.
- 64. <u>Ibid</u>, 199 ff.
- 65. Handiqui, Yasastilaka and India Culture, p. 203.
- 66. See <u>oprcit</u>, p. 199.
- 67. Nisitha Curni, 3,pp. 101, 160, 532, 584.
- 68. <u>Ibid</u>, 2, pp, 119; <u>Nisitha Curni</u>, 3, pp. 123, 414.
- 69. <u>Ibid.</u>, 3, p. 160, Muni Punya Vijaya ed. 1, p. 271, see also <u>Brhatkalpa bhasva Vrtti</u>. 2, p. 456.
- 70. Brhatkalpa bhasva-Vrtti, 2, p. 456.
- 71. Anuvogadvara Curni, p. 12.
- 72. <u>Nisitha Gurni</u> 3, p. 123.
- 73. <u>Ibid.</u> 2, p. 119.
- 74. <u>Ibid.</u> 3, p.123.
- 75. Takakusu, op-cit, p.2.
- 76. Brhatsamhita, III. 19 (Chowkhamba).
- 77. Cf. Mathura Pillar Inscription of the time of Cardragupta.

 II, E.I., XXI, pp. 1 ff.
- 78. C II, IV, No. 12, 1.4; No. 14, 11. 32-33. The Dutaka of the Abhona pls. was named Pasupata, Vide C II, IV, No. 12, I. 34.
- 79. On Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 296, 333, II, 229, 242, 251, 262,
- 80. Brhatsamhita, LXXXVI. 22.
- 81. C II, III, No. 35, I. 3.4

- 82. <u>Ibid.</u>, No. 80, I. 9. Nagavardhana, a nephew of Pulakesin II sanctioned a grant for the worship of Kapalesvara and for the maintenance of Mahawratins attached to the temple, vide <u>JBBRAS</u>, p. 26.
- 83. S. Beal, Si- yu ki, Vol. I, pp. 55, 76.
- 84. <u>Nisîtha Curni</u> 2, pp. 38, 227, 244; <u>Ifnd</u>. 3, p. 252.
- 85. <u>Ibid.</u> 2, p. 244.
- 86. <u>Ibid</u>. 2, p. 227 &
- 87. <u>Ibid</u>. 2. p. 244.
- 88. <u>Ibid.</u> 2, p. 38,
- 89. <u>Ibid</u>. 2, pp. 207, 227; NC.3, pp. 81. 585
- Malamuhas were also a sect akin to the Kapalikas.

 Their six distinctive marks were: eating food in spull, besmearing body with ashes of a dead & body, eating the ashes, holding a club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping the god seated therein (Bhandarkar, op-cit. p. 181). According to D.R. Sastri, 'The Lokyatikas and the Kapalikas, IHQ., Vol. I, 7 (1931), pp. 125-38, some Kapalikas, at a later period, gave up bearing the spull (Kapala), but those who continued the practice were called Kalamuha or Kalavadana.
- 91. <u>Yasastilaka</u>, Book-I, See also Handiqui, p. 357.
- 92. Handiqui, pp. 356-57. Yasastilaka, VI, 3.
- 93. Nisitha Curni, 3, p. 585; Brhatkalpa-bhasyavritti, 3, p. 789.

- 94. Samaraiccakaha, Book IV.
- 95. Kathasaritsagara, 18.2.
- 96. Yasastilaka, Book IV; Handiqui, p. 89.
- 97. Karpuramanjari by Rajeskhara, 1, 22 ff.
- 98. The Kaulas were another extreme Saiva sect whose practices were akin to the Kapalikas Yasastilaka p. 269. Handiqui, p. 204 defines the system of the Kaulas or Kulacaryas as follows, "According to this system, one should, after indulging in meat and drink, worship Siva with wire in company with a female partner sitting on one's left during the rites: the worshipper is to play the role of Siva united with Parvati and exhibit the Yonimudra".
- 99. Prabodhacandrodaya by Krshnamisra, Act, III, 22.
- 100. Vide Handiqui, p. 357.
- 101. Kuvalayamala, ed. A.N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1970 p.238 I.24.
- 102. <u>Ibid.</u> p. 63.I. 22.
- 103. Yaśastilaka 1, 115. Handiqui, p. 358. In the

 Kathasaritsagara, 5, 2, 81 a Mahavratin is described as

 Kapalin, ('furnished with a human skull'), wearing

 matted hair and white with ashes.
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- 105. Harshacarita of Bana, Ch. 5 and Ch. 6
- 106. Lalitavistara, Ch. 17.
- 107. <u>Malatimadhava</u>, Act. I. for further details on <u>Sriparvata</u> see Handiqui, p. 359, f.p. 6.

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- 110. <u>Ibid</u>, I.
- 111. <u>Brhatkalpabhashya</u>, III, 4487 (see J. C. Jain, <u>Jain</u>

 <u>Agama Sahitya me Bharatiya Samaja</u>, p. 435)
- 112. <u>Niśitha Curni</u>, 1, p. 146 (Quadatigharesu divesaniveditam
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- 1.7. Alina Copper -plate Inscription of Siladitya VII(766-67) A.D.): also the grants of Dhrukasena II and Kharagraha II-C.I.I. III, pp. 180, 182, 185.
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- 119. See Jain, op-cit, pp. 449 f.
- 120. Jain, op-cit, p. \$50 and also f.n. 2.
- 121. For Mahabharata, see Sorenson, Index, p. 274 and also Ramayana, I, Chs. 35 ff.
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- 123. See Kadambari, pp. 32, 57, 92, 96 etc. Harshacarita,

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- 136. Kuvalayamala, 13. 6.
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- 138. Kuvalayamala, 13. 5 g.
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 and acquired supersensuous knowledge. These references

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- 233. Vol. II, p. 142 (Fourth Asvasa).
- 234. 3. 204.
- 235. Book- IV. for the actual passage, see Handiqui, op-cit., p.325.
- 236. Candraprabhacaritam, 6. 54.
- 237. See See Gunjana Pratitioner
- 238. Al-b@runi's India, p.
- 239. See in this connection Banerjee, J.N., <u>Develorment of</u>

 <u>Hindu Iconography</u>, pp. 430 ff. Also <u>Bhavisyha</u>., I, Chs. 139 f.
- 240. Loc- cit.
- 241. Loc. cit.
- 242. See Watters, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 254.
- 243. See <u>Brhatsamhita</u>, 59. 19 and also A.Mitra Shastri, <u>op-cit.</u>, pp. 139 ff.
- 244. See Elliot and Dawson, <u>History of India etc.</u>, I.pp. 11, 23, 28, 96, etc.

- 245. 55. 15-16
- 246. Al-Baruni's India, Vol. I, p. 116
- 247. See Elliot and Dawson, op-cit, I, pp.23,28,96 etc.
- 248. 98. 110.
- 248a. See 98. 19, 50, 94.
- 248b. Story No. 42 (ed. A.N. Upadhye, New Delhi, 1974).
- 249. See The Classical Age, pp. 442 ff.
- 250. See Rajatarangini, IV, 192.
- 251. See <u>Acarenga</u>, (S.B.E. 22, p. 92); <u>Bhagavati</u> (erd.Book, p. 570) etc.
- 252. Loc. cit.
- 253. See p. 204 (Prakrit Text Society Edition), where there are references to both Skanda and Vishākha.
- 254. See Ava. Cu. p. 315; also Nisitha Curni, IV, p. 226
- 255. 83.2
- 256. See 2. 29; 14. 4; 68. 19 and 256. 31.
- 257. Reference the expression Sanmukha in 83, 2 of Kuvalayamala.
- 258. See 17.27; 26.12.
- 259. 26. 12-15.
- 260. 37.41.
- 261. II, Ch. 10. pp. 46 ff.
- 262. See p. 324 (Story No. 136) Verse No. 13.
- 263. See <u>Cr.ed</u>. II, 29. 4
- 264. Vs. 35. (Ed. D.C. Sircar in J.A. I.H., Vol.V.)
- 265. See Upasakadasa (ed. N.A. Gore, p. 21)
- 266. II., Ch. 10, pp. 46ff.

- 267. See Svargavarga, I, 39-40 where sixteen names of Skanda are given.
- 268. See Sharma, D. Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 390.
- 269. 68.18.
- 270. See <u>E.I.</u>, IX, pp. 277ff.
- 271. (Book II).
- 272. 2. 19: 14. 4.
- 273. See Luders, <u>List etc.</u> No. 54; See also Chatterjee op.cit., Vol. I, p. 62.
- 274. See the interesting Bengali work entitled Sarasvati p.

 80 by A. Vidyabbusan (Calcutta, 1980) where a good
 description of the image is given; see also the photograph
 No. 384.
- 275. Book- III, (the verse is quoted by Handiqui, op-cit., p. 203
- 276. p. 401.
- 277. III, Vs. 265.
- 278. See Handiqui, cp.cit., p. 405
- 279. Chowkhamba ed. I. 4. 15.
- 280. See Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 377 ff.
- 280a. II. 6.37-42, see also J.C. Jain, Life etc. pp.127.202
- 280b. pp. 417, 429.
- 280c. See Ava.Cu. I, p. 542.
- 281. See Handiqui, op.cit., pp. 188 ff; 240 ff; 362 f; 371 ff; see also Yasastilakacampu, VI, 2: VI, 10; VII.24; VII, 43 etc.
- 282. 150. 26

- 283. 24. 44-45 (ed. A.N. Upadhye).
- 284. Edited by A.B. Dhruva (GOS). 1930.
- 285. Story No. 12 (Brhatkathakosa, ed. by A.N. Upadhye.)
- 286. 8. 147 f; see also K.R. Chandas, A Critical Study of

 Paumacariyam, p. 491.
- 287. See for details Chatterjee, op-cit., p. 123.
- 288. See Legge, Record of Buddhistic kingdoms pp. 18f; see also Brhatkathakosa, 12. 116.
- 289. 156. 17; also story Nos. 46, 12 and 33.
- 289a. 46. 77ff.
- 289b. Loc.cit.
- 289c. 46. 108
- 289d. 46. 104 ff.
- 289d. See No. 68.
- 290. See M.A.R., 1923, No. 113, (see also Chatterjee, op.cit, p. 188.
- 291. See MysoreGazetter, Vol. 2, p. 675.
- 292, See Story Nos. 2 (ed. Upadhye, New Delhi, 1974).
- 293. See 90. 22 (pp. 131-32)
- 294. See p. 154.
- 295. Vol. 3, p. 415
- 296. NC. Vol. 3, p. 101, Brhatkalpa-Bhasya-Vrtti 2, p.561
- 297. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. 3, p. 269.
- 298. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. 3, p. 429.
- 299. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. 4, p. 272.
- 300. <u>Ibid</u>., Vol. 4, pp. 272-73

- 301. See Book VI, 2, p. 267; Also Handiqui, op.cit., p.371.
- 302. See Book VII. 24; Handiqui, op.cit., p. 372
- 303. Book V (for details see Handiqui, op.cit., pp. 187ff.)
- 304. Loc.cit., see also Handiqui, op.cit., pp. 220ff.
- 305. See in this connection Chatterjee, op.cit., 25 f;
- see also Malalsekara, D. P.P. N for necessary reference.
- 306. See translation of Kern in S.B.E., 21, p. 265.
- 307. See Watters, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 252.
- 308. See Xss. 68-69
- 309. Op.cit., p. 373.
- 310. See 25. 84.
- 311. See 156. 17.
- 312. See p. 31 (Chowkhamba ed., Varanasi, 1966).
- 313. Loc.cit.
- 814. See Mattavitasaprahasana p. 20.
- 315. See Act III; it is interesting to note that even in a

 Brahmanical work like Prabodhacandradaya (Act.III), the

 Buddhists and Jains are represented as arch rivals.
- 316. <u>Brhatkalpa-bhashya-Vrtti</u>, 3, p. 879.
- 317. N. C., Vol. 2, p. 325.
- 318. See H. D. Velankar's Jinaratnakośa, p. 220.
- 319. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 219 ff.
- 320. No. 1, p. 113, See also M.Sen, op.cit.
- 321. Ibid., 3, pp. 246, 253, 325. Also M. Sen, op.cit.
- 322. <u>Ibid.</u>, 3,pp. 414,429; 1, pp.17, 113,121; 2, p. 116 see also M.Sen, op.cit.

- 323. Harshacarita, Trans. p. 237.
- 324. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 258.
- 325. <u>Kadambari</u>, p. 208.
- 326. N.C. 3, p. 160, see also M.Sen, op.cit.
- 327. See Chowkhamba ed. Act. V, p. 135.
- 328. P. 206.
- 329. See also Handiqui, op.cit., pp.242 ff.
- 330. See 89.20ff.
- 331. See Ch. 89.
- 332. See K.R. Chandra, A Critical Study of Paumacariyam.p.491.
- 333. See 89.51; and also 32.78 ff. etc.
- 334. See p. 155 and also Chatterjee's A.K., A comprehensive

 Hist. of Jainism, I, p. 279.
- 335. See pp. 202ff; and pp. 404 ff for its date see Alsdorf
 in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. VIII, pp. 319ff.
- 336. See Chapters 40, 68, 81, 92 etc.
- 337 See 15, 136 ff; 22.57ff., 23.17 ff.
- 338. See 22. 46 ff.
- 339. See 22.61 ff; 23.93.
- 340. See 23.91.
- 341. See E.I. 6, pp. 1 ff; see also Kielhorn's List. No. 10.
- 342. See Mattavilasaprahaskasana (Chowkhamba) pp. 9 2011.etc.
- 343. See III, p. 65, II, p. 113, p. 334, etc.
- 344. See M.Sen, op.cit., pp. 277 ff.
- 345. See III, p. 366.
- 346. Ed. A.N. Upadhye; see also Chatterjee, op.cit. p.153.

- 347. See 115. 4; 119. 3 and 128.6.
- **348.** See 120. 15-16
- 349. See the prasasti of Kuvalayamala.
- 350. See J. Yadav, Samaraiccakaha-ek Samskritaka Adhvava pp. 264 ff.
- 35%. See II, p. 118; VII, pp. 719-20 ,726
- 352. VII, p. 609.
- 353. See VIII. pp. 613, 630, 712; VIII.,p. 807 etc.
- 354. See IX, pp. 843, 949-50 etc.
- 355. See pp. 85 f, where a number of Jain tirthas of Rajasthan have been mentioned.
- 356. See in this connection Chatterjee, op. cit., pp. 286 f.
- 357. See in this connection Prakrit Sudamsanacariya Book 12 composed in 12th century A.D. and also Jain Sahitya ka Brhat Itihasa, 6, pp. 363 f.
- 358. See pp. 20 f.
- 359. See Dharmapadesamala (ed. L.B. Gandhi), p. 32.
- 360. See pp. 177-79
- 361. A beautiful history of this <u>Tirtha</u> will be found in the <u>Vividhatirthakalpa</u>, pp. 1 ff.
- 362. See para 130; also Antagadadasão, 2.
- 363. Vol. II, p. 197
- 364. 65. 18.
- 365. See Ch. 68.
- 366. See Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 110.
- 367. See Adipurana, 6. 24ff; 6.179 ff; Uttarapurana, 70.147ff; 70. 440; 71. 25 etc.

- 368. See Vividhatirthakalpa, pp. 20 ff.
- 369. See pp. 177-79.
- 370. See pp. 160 f; also pp. 177 ff.
- 371. See 131. 69.
- 372. Loc. cit.
- 373. See Chatterjee, op.cit. I, Chs. IX-X
- 374. See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, II, p. 429; see also Cambridge History of India, I, pp. 100 ff.
- 375. See Chatterjee, A.K., Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural

 Tradition, p. 161.
- 376. See Critical Edition, I. 131. 3-4
- 377. IV. 12. 12-13.
- 378. I. 57. 1-26
- 379. I. 131. 3.
- 380. MBH, I.Chs, 175f.
- 381. See Sircar, Select Inscriptions etc. I, p. 16.
- 382. See Chatterjee, op.cit, pp. 164 ff.
- 383. See Basak's ed., I, p. 459.
- 384. I. 45
- 385. See No. 163.
- 386. See No. 150.
- 387. See Jacobi's translation in S.B.E., Vol. 22, pp.92-93
- 388. Adipurana, Ch. 57, Vs. 1ff.
- 389. See Balacarita, Act I.
- 390. See Mrcchakatika, Act X.
- 391. See Raghuvamsa, IV. 3; see in this connection B.S.

- Upadhyaya, <u>India in Kalidasa</u>, New Delhi, 2nd edition,

 1968, p. 328. It is called in the <u>Raghuvansa</u>, by the reme
- 392. See Nagananda, Act, I.
- 393. See Vol. IV, p. 226; see also M.Sen, A Cultural Study
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- 394. III, p. 131.
- 395. See Ch. 43, Vss. 23 ff; see also in this connection

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- 396. 43, 55, 68.
- 397. II, ch. 15.
- 398. V. 10.16 ff.
- 399. X, 24. 1 ff.
- 400. Act 1.
- 401. Mrcchakatika Act X.
- 402. Nagananda Act I.
- 403. I. 4. 3.
- 404. VII. 170, 182, and 495.
- 405. I. Chs. 225 ff.
- 406. See 148. 1, 12; See also P.S. Jain, Kuvalayamalakaha ka Samsirtik adhyayana, Vaisali, 1975, p. 171 and f.n. 2.
- 407. See Bhavaprakasa (of Saradatanaya), p. 137.
- 408. Quoted in . M. Sen, op.cit, p. 321.
- 409. IV. 16. 37.

- 410. English trans. I, p. 343.
- 411. III, Vs. No. 8.
- 412. See Chatterjee, The Cult of Skanda-karttikaya etc. pp.41ff.
- 413. The relevant passage mentioning the karttikaya temple has been quoted in J.C. Jain's <u>Prakrit Sahitva ka</u>
 <u>itihasa</u>, p. 420.
- 414. I. 30. 20; see also S.B.E. II, p. 42.
- 415. See Chatterjee, op.cit, p. 170.
- 416. Act I.
- 417. Acts I and III
- 418. Act VI.
- 419. Act I.
- 420. See Jain J.C., Life in Ancient India etc., p. 238.
- 421. See 70.50 and also K.R. Chandra, A Cultural Study of the Paumacariyam, Vaisali, 1970; pp. 374 f.
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- 427. See Handiqui, Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 39.
- 428. See I, pp. 33, 53; II, pp. 78, 79; IV, p. 321; V, pp. 368, 373, 416, 474; VI, p. 496; VII, p. 635-36; VIII, p. 743; IX, p. 880.

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- 432. I, p. 17; see also IV, p. 306
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- 435. See Kane, Hist. of Dharmasastra. V, part- I, p. 285.
- 436. I. 4. 27 (Chowkhamba ed., p. 141)
- 437. Act. III.
- 438. P. 220.
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- 440. Chattopadhyaya's ed., p. 104.
- 441. 148.11; see also P.S.Jain, op.cit., p. 132.
- 442. See part II, p. 182.
- 443. Ibid., II, pp. 178 ff.
- 444. IV, 166; see also Chatterjee, A.K., Ancient Indian

 <u>Literary and Cultural Tradition</u>, pp. 170 f.
- 445. See for details Chatterjee, A.K., op. cit. p.71
- 446. Chapter, 68.
- 447. See Chatterjee, A comprehence Hist, of Jainism, I, p. 123.
- 448. Brhatkathakośa, 12. 116 ff.
- 449. 22. 74; 8. 145 etc.
- 450. Nisitha Curni, 4, p.131.
- 451. <u>Ibida</u>, 3, p. 131.

- 452. Sangava, V. . Jaina Community, p. 247.
- 453. <u>Nisitha Curni</u>, 3, 0. 157.
- 454. <u>Ibid.</u> 3, p. 147.
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- 456. Uttarapithika, 5th Ucchvasa. See also Chowkhamba edition of that work, p. 301.
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CHAPTER - VI

Historical Geography

Section (i): Janapadas.

The Jain canonical texts have preserved for us some useful details on historical geography of the pre-Christian times. We have an earlier list of 16 Mahajanapadas in the Jain Bhagavati Sutra which slightly differs from the well-known list of 16 Mahajanapadas given in the Pali canon. The Bhagavati list includes names like Vanga, Ladha (Radha) and Sumbhuttara. All these Free names are evidently connected with Bengal which probably shows the early popularity of Jainism in this part of eastern India. It should here be emphasized that the expression 'Sodasa-mahajanapada' occurs only in Buddhist and Jain canonical literature and is absent both in the epico-Puranic literature and the classical Sanskrit texts. Even in the later canonical texts of the Jains and Buddhists there is no reference to the sixteen Mahajanapadas although we have in them other lists of janapadas. It appears, that after the digvijaya of Mahapadma, Nanda, the so-called 'sixteen Mahajanapadas' disappeared from history and were absorbed in the vast empire of that powerful emperor.

A slightly later Jain canonical text

viz., the Prajnapana, which is the fourth Upanga text of the Svetambara Jains, contains a very useful list of twenty-five and a half janapadas which existed probably in the 1st-2nd century B.C., the probably date of that text. It is interesting to note that in all the above mentioned lists there is no reference to janapadas lying south of the river Godavari.

Elsewhere, in the same Jain canonical text, we have references to some so called non-Aryan tribes like Saka, Yavana, Cina, Huna Romaka, Andhra, Parasa (Persia) etc. Some of these names are also mentioned in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature and inscriptions of the early Christian period.

In the well-known Paumacariyam of
Vimalasuri we have a very interesting list of janapadas which
contains the names of some non-Aryan tribes like the Abhiras,
Bhojas, Keralas, Sakas, Triširas, Hidimbas, Ambasthas, Sabaras,
Khasas, Kuberas etc. It is significant that here for the first
time a people living in the far south of India viz., the
Keralas have been mentioned. This list also includes the names
like the Andhras, Kalingas, etc., which proves Vimala's knowledge
of the geography of the South. It should here be noted, that
according to Vimala's own statement, his work was completed
530 years after Lord Mahavira's nirvana. Afterwards, several
Jain writers have reproduced practically the same list of
peoples in their works. Elsewhere in his work, Vimala has

mentioned the Lampakas, who is name also appears in the account of Yuan Chwang. During the time of the Chinese pilgrim (first half of 7th century A.D.) the Lampakas acknowledged the Suzerainity of the kingdom of Kapisi.

One of the earliest Jain literary

works of our period (.i.e. 600 A.D. - 1000 A.D.) is the

Padmapurana of the Digambara Ravigena, which was composed in
the second half of the 7th century A.D. This work has an
exhaustive list of janapadas which is reproduced below:

Suhma, Anga, Magadha, Vanga, Podana, Lokak anagara, Lampakavi kaya,
Bhasakuntala, Kalambu, Nandin, Nandana, Simhala, Salabha,

Anala, Caula, Bhima, Bhutarava, Purakheta, Matamba, Bhiru,

Yavana, Kaksa, Caru, Trijata, Nata, Saka, Kerala, Nepala, Malava,

Ārula, Sarvara, Vrķāna, Vaidya-Kasmīra, Hidimba, Avasta, Barbara,

Trisira, Pārasaila, Gausila, Usīnara, Suryāraka, Sanarta, Khasa,

Vindhya, Sikhāpada, Mekhala, Sūrasena, Bāhlika, Utūka, Kosala,

Darī, Gandhāra, Sauvīra, Purī, Kauvera, Kohara, Andhra,

Kala, Kalinga.

This particular list of Ravisena is obviously based on that of the author of the <u>Paumacariyan</u> although a few new names also have been included. It is interesting to mote that the above list of Ravisena covers

almost all the major janapadas of India including some unknown non-Aryan kingdoms.

The author of the <u>Varangacarita</u>

13
(7th century A.D.) mentions the following <u>janapadas</u> viz .,
Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Kalinga, Suhma, Pundra, Kuru, Ashmaka,
Abhira, Avanti, Kasala, Matsya, Saurastra, Vindhyapala,
Mahendra, Sauvira, Saindhava, Kasmira, Odra, Vaidarbha, Vaidisa
14
Panchala etc. Elsewhere, Kamboja, Bahlika, Simhala, Barbara,
Kirata, Gandhara, Pulinda are mentioned as non-Aryan peoples.

A much better list of janapadas is to be found in the celebrated Jain Harivamsa written by 15
Jinasena II in Saka 705, corresponding to 783 A.D. This author has divided the entire country into seven distinct parts viz., the centre (Madhyadesa) the north, east, south, west, the Vindhya region and the seventh or the last under 16 the heading madhyadesasritah (dependencies of Madhyadesa).

The janapadas are enumerated below:

i) Madhyadesa- Kurujangala, Pancala, Surasena, Pataccara, Tulinga, Kasi, Kausaleya, Madrakara, Vrkarthaka, Solva, Avrata, Trigarta, Kusagara, Matsya, Kuniyar, Kosala, and Moka.

- ii) North-Bahlika, Atreya, Kamboja, Kavana, Adhira, Madraka, Kvathatoya, Sura, Vatavana, Kalikaya, Gandhara, Sindhu, Sauvira, Bharadvaja, Deseruka, Prasthala, Tirnakarna,.
- iii) East Khadga, Angaraka, Paundra,
 Malla, Pravaka, Mastaka, Pradyotika,
 Vanga, Magadha, Manavartika, Malada, Bhargava.
- iv) South Banamukta, Vaidarbha, Manava,
 Sakakapira, Mulaka, Asmaka, Dandika, Kalinga,
 Asinka, Kuntala, Navarastra, Mahisaka,
 Purusa, Bhogavardhana.
- v) West Malya, Kallivanopanta, Durga, Surpara, Karbuka, Kakai, Nasarika, Agarta, Sarasvata, Tapasa, Mahebha, Bharukacca, Surastra, Narmada.
- vi) <u>Vindhyaprathajvasina</u>: Dasarnaka,

 Kiskindha, Tripura, Avarta, Naisadha, Nepala,

 Uttamavarna, Veidisa, Mansala, Pattana,

 Vinihartza.
- vii) Madhyadesasritah : Bhadra, Vatsa, Videha, Kusa, Bhanga, Saitava, Vajrakhanda.

This extremely valuable list of janapadas

given by the author in his dated work (783 A.D.), appears to be absolutely original and not based on any traditional Puranic lists. Let us first take note of the list of the Madhyadeša peoples given by our author. Here we have some of the well-known names like Kuru-jangala, Panchala, Surasek, Kasi, Kosala (or Kausaleya) Salva Matsya, Triggarta etc. Tulinga of this list may be the same as 3hulinga or Tilinga of the Puranas. Several of these names are also mentioned in the epics and Puranas. However, the most significant name of the Madhyadesa list given by our author is Moka which stands for Maga, the sun-worshipping Persians. The Magas have been mentioned by the 6th century authority Varahamihira in his Brhatsamhita, and they are also referred to in the Bhavisya and Samba Puranas. Ptolemy's reference to Brachmanoi Magoi proves that the Persians had penetrated into the heart of India by the beginning of the christian era, if not earlier. It has been claimed that even Varahamihira was originally a Maga Krahmana. Since Jinasena II has included the Magas amongst the peoples of Madhyadesa, it would be reasonable to assume that there was a Maga principality in the interior of the sub-continent.

author includes janapadas of the present Punjab, N. W. F. P. and Sind of Pakistan and also parts of present northern Gujarat. Several of these janapadas are mentioned elsewhere in Indian biterature. The Sura of this list may be a variant of Sudra of the Puranas. The name Kvathatohya is not found either in the Puranas or the Brhatsamhita, Desaruka is mentioned as Daseraka in Varahamihira's work. Some other names like Bahlika, Kamboja, Yavana, Abhira, Madraka, Kaikaya, Gandhara etc., given in the Harivamsapurana in the list of northern janapadæs are quite well-known.

The rist of peoples of eastern India includes interesting names like Khadga, Malla Malada, Bhargava 20 etc. It has been pointed out that the Khadgas were a well known royal dynasty of south-east Bengal and by the term Khadga, Jinasena probably means the Samatata people mentioned for the first time in the Allahabad Prasasti. The mamatatas are also mentioned by Varahamihira in the list of eastern peoples. The name of Pradyotisa is obviously a mistake for Pragijyotisa, which also occurs in the Brhatsamhita.

In the southern list the instersting names are Banamukta, Purusa, Sakakapira etc. The Banamuktas are probably the same as the Banas, who played an important

part in the political affairs of South India from the 24 fifty century .

Several well known peoples appear in Jinasena's list of western janapadas. However, a few names. like Malya, Kallivanopanta, Karbuka, Kaksi etc. are not otherwise known. Agarta may be a mistake for Anarta and Tapasa for Tamasa. Mahebha probably stands for Maheya, who possibly lived near the river Mahi; Nasarika surely stands forNasika, It is interesting to note that Nasika is mentioned (2nd century A.D.). Amongst the peoples represented by Ptolemy as living in the Vindhya region (Vindhyaprathanivasinah)the most surprising name is that of the Nepalas. The kingdom of Nepal should het be included in the list of Vindhyadesa peoples as it was situated far from the Vindhya mountain. As we know Nepala is mentioned for the first time in the Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta. The Kiskindhas probably lived in Rajasthan but the Brhatsamhita places Kiskindha in the South-east. Vinihatra obviously stands for Vitihotras of the Mahabharata and the guranas.

Amongst the dependencies of Madhyadesa, we have the name Bhadra who are mentioned repeatedly in the 30
Brhatsamhita. In this work the Bhadras are included in the list of peoples of middle, eastern and also the southern

divisions. The Bhangas may identified with the Vajjis of the Buddhist literature. The Videhas mentioned in the list should have been included in the list of eastern janapadas as has been done Varahamihira.

Next, we should turn our attention to the list of janapadas given in the Adipurana of the illustraous Jinasena I, probably compiled in the second quarter of the 9th cent. A.D. This list of janapadas, mentioned by that erudite scholar is also quite original like the list found in the earlier Harivamsapurana of Jinasena II. The names are as follows: Sukosala, Avanti, Paundra, Asmaka, Ramyaka Kuru, Kasi, Kalinga, Anga, Vanga, Suhma, Samudraka, Kasmira, Usinara, Anarta, Vatsa, Pancala, Malava, Daśana, Kaccha, Magadha, Vidarbha, Kuru-jangala, Karahata, Maharastra, Surastra, Abhira, Konkana, Vanavasa, Andhra, Karnata, Kosala, Cola, Kerala, Darvabhisara, Sauvira, Surasena, Aparantaka, Videha, Sindhu, Gandhara, Yavana, Qedi, Pallava, Kamboja, Āratta, Valhika, Turaska, Saka, Kekaya, A few other janapadas of India has also been mentioned this author elsewhere in his work

An analysis of the Adipurana's list of peoples shows that most of the important janapadas of Uttarapatha of the early medieval period have been mentioned

by Jinasena I. Most of the janapadas are also referred to in several contemporary epigraphs. A few janapadas of South India have also been included in this list as for e.g. Cola, Kerala, and the Pallavas. We should remember in this connection that Jinasena I was a southerner and this explains why we come across the name Pallava in the above mentioned list. There is an earlier reference to the Pallavas in the Harivamsapurana of Jinasena II, where the author very significantly represents Daksina Mathura (Madurai)/in the Pallava territory. It has been argued that Madura was formerly under the Pandyas and probably during the reign of Najdivarman II Pallavamalla, it was captured by the Pallavas from the erstwhile Pandya rulers. Jinasena I, it is interesting to note, also refers to the Colas, who at that time was prising power in the south. The reference to Turaskas also proves that the Muslims were in firm control of the lower Indus valley area. Another interesting name in the Adipurana list is Samudrakas, who probably lived in the southern part of Bengal during this time. They are mentioned after the Vangas and Suhmas by Jinasena I. We should take note of the fact that in the Harsha Inscription of Isanavarman, the Gaudas have been represented as living near the sea.

The Karahatas mentioned by our author, were well-known people of Decan and they are repeatedly

mentioned in the literature and epigraphs of the early medieval period. Some of the names of Jinasena I's list are traditional but the reference to Trikalinga elsewhere in this work shows the separate existence of these people in eastern India. A number of other peoples have also been noticed by Jinasena I in connection with Bharata's digvijaya. Amongst the new names wer have Gauda, Odra, Kamarupa and Malladesa. The Mallas played an important part in the political history of eastern India from the days of Buddha. We have an interesting reference to them in the Khalimpur copper plate, of Dharmapala (semond half of 8th century A.D.), where they have been represented as a people living in the Bodh-Gaya area. We have already seen that they have been mentioned in the list of eastern peoples by the author of the Harivamsapurana. The Odra country was visited by Yuan in the second quarter of the 7th cent. A.D., and it Chwang at present corresponds to the eastern part of Orissa adjoining West Bengal. As we have already seen, the 7th century author of the Varangacarita has also mentioned the Cdras in his list of Peoples.

Another list of janapadas is to be
43
found in Svayambhus Paumacariu . This particular Apabhramsa
work was probably written in the closing years of the 9th
44
century. The names are given below:

Paurana, Cedi, Golla, Makandi, Sriparvata,
Nepala, Karahataka, Singariya, Madhyadesa, Pascimadesa,
Sindhava, Kaccha, Karnataka, Tungavishaya, Dakshinadesa.

Elsewhere 45 he has also mentioned the following janapadas:-

Khasa, Sawara, Babbara, Takka, Kira, Kauvera, Kuraya, Sovira, Dhira, Tunga, Anga, Vanga, Kambhoja, Bhotta, Jalandhara, Javana, Kamaruva, Tajika, Parasa, Kahara, Sura, Nepala, Vatti, Hidiva, Tisira, Kerala, Kahala, Kalasa, Visira, Gandhara, Magaha, Maddahiva, Saka, Surasena, Maru, Vasu, Viheya, Avara, Pallata, Mehileya.

Amongst these names the most interesting appears to be Bhotta or the Tibetans. This particular country has been mentioned in a Candella inscription of the 10th century. The Bhottas have also been mentioned in the Rajatarangini of Kalhana. The Tajikas were the Arab Muslims who are mentioned in the epigraphs of even earlier period. The The Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang visited Jalandhara in the early 7th century A.D.

A few early medieval epigraphs give a list of janapadas which are similar to what we get in the lists supplied by the Jain narrative texts. We may refer in this connection to the Khalimpur Copper Plate of Dharmapala (second half of 8th century A.D.), and the well-known 10th century Khajuraho Inscription of Candella Dhanga. We have also represences in hundreds

of scattered verses to many janapadas of the early medieval period.

Section (ii) : Important 6ities and Towns

The Jain works of our period have mentioned a large number of cities and towns of both north and south India many of which ceased to exist in post-Gupta and the early medieval period (600 A.D.-1000A.D.). But a few references partain to cities and towns which flourishedd during this time. We must also note that a great number of mythical towns have also been repeatedly mentioned in the Jain works of this period which are of little importance.

We will now discuss below some of the premier cities and towns of our period, particularly in the Jain works of our period.

Acalapura: This was a well-known town of this time and at present it is known as Ellichpur. It is prominently mentioned in the <u>Dharmapqdesamala</u> of Jayasimha, written in 867 A.D. It is situated in the Vidarbha region of Maharastra. It is also mentioned in the <u>Samaraiccakaha</u> as a great commercial centre. This town is mentioned, as noted by J.C. Jain, a in one of the Niryukti texts apparently composed in the 2nd-3rd century. A.D. as a town associated with Jain tapasas.

Ahicchatra: This famous city of western India has been frequently mentioned in the Jain texts of both the early and medieval period. Its association with Parsvanatha is not only proved by very early Jain epigraphs, but also the Jain texts of our period. The Acaranga Vritti of Silanka (second half of the 9th century) has mentioned the Parsvanatha shrine of this place. It is identified with present Ramnagar in Bareilly district of U.P. 59 Even we get a 2nd century Jain Kushana inscription which refers to a Parsvanatha temple at this place.

Amarapura: This town is mentioned in the Samaraiccakaha as the capital of Burma (Brahmadesa). It has been described as situated on the eastern bank of the river Airavata i.e.

Anandapura : It was also known as Anandanagara. place has been repeatedly mentioned in the Jain works of our period. The 7th-century text Nisitha Curni has mentioned this town several times. Yuan Chwang described this town and in his time (second quarter of the 7th century) it was | @dependency of Malava. We are further told by that Chinese pilgrim that the languages climate, products etc. of that place were similar to that of Malava. In the Samaraiccakaha (middle 3th century) this place has also been mentioned. We further learn from the Nisitha Curni that the Jain monks used to travel to Mathura from this places. The Beahmings of Anandapurana were highly respected in western India. This is proved by a few contemporary epigraphs. We know from the Atpur Inscription 66 (in Rajasthan) of V.S. 1034, corresponding to 977 A.D., that the founder of the Guhilat dynasty was a Brahmana called Guhadatta who originally hailed from Anandapurama. Another contemporary inscription records the fact that a number of Brahmanas of Anandapurama, belonging to various gotras, were given land by king. 67

It is identified with nodern Vadnagar in North Gujarat. Another work of our period viz., the Cauppanamahapurashacariyam of Silanka refers to a Jain shrine of Anandapura, which was in ruins during the author's time. Anandanagara is further describeden as situated that in Mode or Medra Vishaya.

Anahilapura : This town was founded according to a Jain Tradition in V.S. 802. It is at present known as Patan and is situated in Mahesana district of Gujarat.

According to several Jain texts, 69 the founded of the Capo kata dynasty viz., Vanaraja, built a Parsava temple known as Vanarajavih ra at this town. According to another text, viz., Neminathacariu dated 1760 A.D., in the capital of Vanaraja a Jain merchant of the name of Ninnaya built a temple, dedicated to the Tirst Tirthankara, Rshabhanatha.

Ayodhya It was one of the greatest cities of ancient India/and in the earlier Jain and Buddhist canonical texts it is mentioned as kaketa, a name also found in a few Puranas and Patarajali. 71 As well-known this town was associated with the activities of several early Jain Tirthankaras including Adinatha. A temple of Suvatasvamin of this town has been noted by Vimala in his Paumacariyam. Ayodhya or Saketabas been frequently mentioned in the Jain works of our period. The Prakrit form off Ayodhya and Saketa are given as Aojjha and Saketa in the Nisitha This town is also mentioned in the Samaraiccakaha 74 where it is placed, like the Ramayana in the Kosala country. There are several references to this city in the Kuvalayamala Somadeva, the 10th-century poet of Yasastilakacampu 76 placed it in Kosala and in the commentary it is also called Vinitapura, a name found repeatedly in the early Jain texts. We have an immensely valuable reference to a Jain texts

merchant is shown as spending a number of dinaras (gold coins) on an auspicious occasion in the Jina temple of this city. Probably this temple is identical with the Sakravatara temple-complex mentioned by the renowned poet Dhanapala in his Tilakamanjari. The earlier work 79

Harivamsapurana represents Saketa as a Jain tirtha. The association of Jainism with this great city of antiquity has also been highlighted by the Vividhatirthakalpa.80

Avyvala: This place is now situated in Bijapur district of Karnataka. It has yielded the famous Aihole Inscription composed by Jain Ravikirti in 634 A.D. Even in later times the place was associated with the Digambaras. 87

Bandhavapura: This place is now known as

Bandalika and is situated in the Shimoga district of

Karnataka. It was considered a great Jain tirtha from

the 10th century if not earlier. An inscription, dated save

6840, corresponding to 918 A.D., recognises it as a tirtha.

This place has also yielded several Jain epigraphs of later

times.

Bankapura: This town new situated in

Dharwar district, of Karnataka was apparently a Jain tirtha

in the 9th century. It was at this place that the

Uttarapurana of Gunabhadra was finally completed in \$820,

corresponding to 898 A.D. Jain epigraphs of later times also have been discovered from Bankapura. We get an epigraph of 925 A.D., which refers to Dhorajinalaya of this town. 84

Baravai : See Dvaraka.

from the post-Cupta period down to the present times. It is now situated in the Hassan district of Karnataka. It has yielded Jain epigraphs from 600 A.D. The main icon of (that ok Bahwaka) this place was built by the great Camundaraya in 982 A.D. His Camundarayapurana was composed in 978 A.D.

Bhadillapura: This place was associated with the tenth Tirthankara Sitalanatha. It identified by J.C.

Jain 87 with present Bhadia in Hazaribagh district of Bihar.

This town is incidentally mentioned in the Harivamsapurana, 88 where one Paundra is represented as its king. In the earlier canonical text Brhatkalpasutra Bhadillapura is depicted as the capital of Malaya, which J. C. Jain places to the South of Magadha.

Bhinnamala : This important city, now situated in Jalor district of Rajasthan, is frequently mentioned in both Jain and non-Jain works of our period. One of the earliest authorities to refer to this town is the great Brahmagupta, the anthor of the Bhahma-Sphuta-Siddhanta who composed it in the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. It was also

visited by Yuan Chwang who depicts the king of this place as a valiant Kshatriya, who is probably identical with king Vyaghramukha, mentioned by Brahmagupta as the Capa king of Bhinnamala. This town has been prominently mentioned by Udyotunasuri, author of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u>. The relevant passage of this work proves that it was a great Jain centre of pilgrimage during the days of the author (8th century), and even earlier. Later writers like Dhanapala, Jinaprabha and others have mentioned it as a <u>tirtha</u>, sacred to Lord Mahavira. The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> 95 mentions the silver coins of this town. Durgasvamin, the teacher of Siddhara, author of <u>Upamitibhavaprapańcakatha</u>, according to the <u>prasasti</u> of that work, died at Bhinnamila apparently in the second half of the 9th century A.D.

Ehrgukaccha: This ancient port certainly rose into prominence in the pre-Christian period and is associated with both Buddhism and Jainism from early times. Foreign writers also, including the author of the periplus, so and ptolemy have prominently mentioned the port of Barygaza which stands for Sanskrit Bhrgukaccha. In the Avasyaka Curni (7th century), the distance between this port city and Jijayini has been calculated as 25 yojanas. According to the Brhatkalpabhashyayrti, Bharuyakaccha is an example of a dronamukha type of town. Now, we know from both Kautilya and Jinasena I that dronamukha was that type of town which had 4000 villages as its dependencies. This place was famous for the great temple of Suvrata Svamin called

Sakunkavihara which is mentioned probably for the first time in the 9th-century text Dharmapadesamala of Jayasimha. Afterwards a number of wirks have mentioned this particular shrine of Bhrgmkaccha. The anthor of the Vividhatirbakalpa has given a good account of this place. There was another Jain temple called Mulavasati, which has been recorded in Amimage inscription of 986 A.D.

There is another very interesting reference in the Prakrit Jain work Gauppannamahapurashacariyam of Silanka, 102b composed in Samvat 925 to the temple of Muni Suvrata at Bhrgukaccha. We are told by the anthor of this work, that the Jina image of this town. In the earlier Kuvalayamala of Kdyotanasuri, we come across several references to ** the town of Bhrgukaccha.

Campa: This great city of Ancient India has been recognised as one of the six biggest cities of the 6th century B.C., in a well-known passage of the Manaparinibbanasutta of the Digha Nikaya. The Jain Tirthankara, Vasupujya was born in this city. It was also connected with the missbonary life of Lord Mahavira. According to the Kalpasutra, Vardhamana stayed in Campa for three years. The great Mula sutra text viz., the Dasavaikalika was composed at this town within a century of Mahavira's demise. The Vasupujya temple of this place was well-known from

times. Jinasena II, the author of the Harivamsapurana, has described the Vasupujya temple-complex of this city.

Elsewhere in his work 106 he has described the manastambhas of this temple-complex. In the Kuvalayamala 107 there are references to the buildings, toranas, and walls of this city. This city was also visited by Yuan-Chwang, 108 who describes it as a large town situated on the couthern side of the Ganges. There is a beautiful description of this city in the Vividhatirthakalpa.

Candrapuri: This town is connected with the eighth Tirthankara, Candraprabha and is now situated a few miles from Varanasi. However, no ancient Jain remains have been unearthed from this place. It is mentioned in the Uttarapurana of Gunabhadra. There is a references to Candrapuri in his Brhatkathakosa of Harisena.

Citrakuta (Chitor): This great fort was a centre of Jainism from the 8th century A.D., if not earlier.

Haribhadra the famous Jain literary artist and commentator was a native of Citrakuta. The afterwards became a great centre for the monks of the Kharataragaccha. The discovery of Jain remains from Citrakuta also prove its close association with Jainism. The Brhatkathakośa, The city of Citrakuta is located near Parijata janapada.

The name Parijata here may stand for Pariyatra mountain, a part of which included the Aravalli range. We know that in

actuality modern Chitor is situated near the Aravalli range.

Dantapura: The town of Dantapura was well-known to the canonical Jain and Buddhist writers. It is generally connected with the king Karakanda or Karakandu in these texts. In the Avasyaka Nirgukti 116 (2nd-3rd century A.D.), this town has been mentioned. It was situated in Kalinga janapada and probably near modern Bhubanesar. In the Samaraiccaka ha we have a reference to this city. This city is also mentioned by the anthor of the Nisitha Curni. 118 In the Brhatkathakosa 119 also Dantipura, (another form of Dantapura) is also located in Kalinga vishya. Pushpadanta, the author of Navakumaracarin who flourished in the 3rd quarter of the 10th century A.D., locates Dantipura in Andhra. According to the Uttarapurana, 120a however, this town was in the Kalinga vishya.

Dasy pura: This well-known town, which is identified with modern Mandasor in M.P., is mentioned several times in the Jain canonical and non-canonical texts. It is associated with the seventh Jain rebel Goshtamahila, who started a schism 584 years after Lord Mahavira. This indirectly proves that even in the 1st century A.D., this place was associated with Jainssm. Quite a good number of Svetambara saints of the early christian era were associated with this town. According to a later tradition, this city was visited by the renowned Digambara philosopher,

Samantabhadra, who flourished probably in the 4th century

A.D. 123 The <u>Vividhatirthakalpa</u> 124 has also mentioned the Suparsvanatha shrine of this place. The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> 125 has also referred to Dasapura.

Devakottapura: This town was situated according to the Brhatkathakosa 126 in Varendra janapada. This perhaps one of the earliest literary references to this janapada. It was the later name of the earlier Pundra country. This place was apparently known to the later Muslim writers, who call it by the name Devikota. At present, the ruins of this town have been located at Gangarampur in the district of West Dinajpur in West Bengal. The Brhatkathakosa gives the very revealing information that the famous Bhadrabahu contemporary of Candragupta Maurya was originally the son of a Brahmana of this town. In still earlier times Devakotta was situated in the Kotivarsha vishva from which had originated a well-known Svetambara sect called Kotivarsha 528

Devapura: This town is mentioned in the Samaraiccakaha
which was probably situated near China. A foreign merchant called
Toppa is depicted as a resident of this town.

Dhanyakataka: This town was in Andhra country, according to the Kathakosa of Prabhacandra writter in the 11th century. It apparently existed as a town much earlier, and was associated with Buddhism.

Dhara: This town, it is interesting to note, is mentioned for the first time in a Jain work called <u>Darsanasara</u> 130 written by Devasena in 933 A.D. The author wrote his work in the Parsva temple of this town. This Parsva temple of Dhara has also been mentioned by the later Digambara writers. The Paramara kings of Dhara were good patrons of Jainism.

According to the <u>Kharataragaccha-brhadgurvavali</u> there was a Santinatha temple at this town. Several Jain manuscripts were copied at this town before 1300 A.D. This place is now known as Dhar and is situated in M.P.

Dharasiva: This was the name of a great tirtha now situated near the smanabad town of Maharastra. The history of this tirtha has been given in the Brhatkathakośa. 134 Another detailed description of this place will be found in the Karakandacariu 135 of Kanakamara. Harisena 136 further informs us that Dharasiva was near the ancient town of Terapura, another name of Tagara.

Dostatika: This is a place mentioned in the prasasti of the Harivamsapurana of Jinasena II. It is now identified with Dottadi near Girnar in Gujarat. There was a temple of Santinatha at this place in which Jinasena II had completed his famous work.

Dvaraka: This town was one of the oldest cities of Ancient India being mentioned in the Mahabharata and Purakas.

According to the Mahabharata it was the capital city of Vrshnis, led by Baladeva, and Vasudeva-Krshna. canonical literature of the Jains, thus place is called by the name Baravai, where it is called the capital of Surattha country. It is mentioned in the Nisitha Curni where it is represented as a great port. In the Varangacarita this place has been referred to as Anartapura, which according to this work, was situated near the river Sarasvati or in other words near the present Prabhasa tirtha at Veraval. hill called Maniman (Manimat), according to this poem, was near this town. According to the <u>Kuvalavamala</u>, Dvaraka was situated in the Lata country. The Brhatkathakosa The Cauppannamahapurashaassociates Dvaraka with Saurashtra. of Silanka (9th century) associates both Argitanemi and Krshna with this place. Another Jain work of this period, viz., the <u>Uttarapurana</u> mentions a merchant of Rajagrha visiting Dvaraka by ship.

Elapura; In the 9th-century work the Dharmapodesamala we have a reference to a Digambara temple at Elapura, which has been located in Dakshinapatha. This Elapura may be identical with Ellora which has post-Gupta Jain caves. An epigraph of the 13th century found from Ellora mentions the reaction of a Parsva temple. The later Jain writers like Jnanasagara and Sumatisagara has mentioned this place as a tirtha. In the Paumacariii of Svayambhu also,

Elapura has been mentioned.

This town is the older name of modern Junagadh Girinagara : in Gujarat and the mame is preserved in the modern name Girnar. The earliest Digambara tradition makes Girinagara the home city of the early teachers of this sect. 150 The Digambara teacher, Dharasena, according to Harisena's Brhatkathakosa was originally a resident of this town. This fact is also m supported by the earliest Digambara tradition. A passage in another story of this work associates Girinagara with Urjayanta mountain, 152 which is associated with the Tirthankara Neminatha. The 7th-century Svetambara commentator Jinadasa, in his Acarangacurni has mentioned this place. The sixth Anga text viz., Navadhammakahao 154 represents Nemanatha as having obtained supreme knowledge on Girnar mountain. Harivamsapurana of Jinasena II associates the goddess Ambika or Simhavahini with Girnar mountain (Urjayanta). There is a detailed description of the Jain temple on Girnar (apparently dedicated to Neminatha) in this work. Even we have the description of the Kanastambhas of this temple-complex, which proves that even in the 8th century there existed a large Jain temple of this mountain. is indirectly supported by the evidence of Jinaprabha's Vividhatirthakalpa. The above temple of Ambika has been -also mentioned in the <u>Navakumaracariu</u> of Pushpadanta.

Gopacala (Gwalior): Although this place is not mentioned

in the Jain literature of our period, its association with that remarkable 8th-century Svetambara saint Bappabhatti proves that even in the early medieval period, this place was connected with Jainism. 158 We are told that this Svetambara saint had built here a temple of Mahavira. In the later period it emerged as a Digambara tirtha and the great poet, Paidhum was a resident of this place.

Gudakhetaka: This town according to the Brhatkathakosa is situated in the Lata country. It is not possible to identify it at the present state of our knowledge.

Gudasatthanayara: This city is mentioned in the 7th century text Avasyaka Curni 160 and was probably not far from modern Broach.

Hastikundi: This ancient Svetambara tirtha is at present situated in the Pali district of Rajasthan. A temple of Rshabha was built here in the early 10th century by king Vidagdha. This place gave its name to a separate gaccha called Hastikundiya tracks, which was started by Vasudeva, the teacher of king Vidagdha.

Hastinapura: This great city of ancient India, the ruins of which have been found near Meerut (U.P.), was connected with several Tirthankaras. In the Jain literature, there are references 163 to this town and it is also mentioned as Gujapura. 164

However no early Jain epigraph 165 has been discovered from this place. It is also mentioned several times in the Brhatkathakosa. This town is also mentioned in the Adipurana 167 of Jinasena I. It is mentioned in the Agamic texts as the capital of Kurujangala.

Hemapurisanagara: According to the Nisitha Curni, the festival of Indra was widely celebrated by the people of this place. It was also known as Hemapura.

Humcha: This place, situated in the Shimoga district of Karnataka, was associated with Digambara Jainism from at least 9th century A.D. Its ancient name was Pomburcha.

The earliest Jain inscription from this place belongs to the 9th century A.D.

Afterwards, several inscriptions were discovered from this place. Even in the 16th century Digambara writers have mentioned this tirtha.

Ilavardhana: This town, according to the Avasvaka Curni,

170
(7th century), was situated on the bank of river Benna.

This town therefore was located in modern Andhra Pradesh.

In later Jain texts also this town has been mentioned.

According to the Brhatkathakosa, 172

According to the Brhatkathakosa, 172

Khis town was also known as Ilapura and had a Jain Thrine. This city according to the same source had a temple of Śrī.

Indrapura: According to J. C. Jain, this town should be indirtified with a place called Indor in Bulandshanr

district in U.P. Prof. Jain quotes a tradition recorded in the <u>Vasudevahindi</u>, according to which Indrapura was another name of Kanyakubja. He also draws our attention to a passage of the <u>Avasyaka Curni</u> which refers to Indrapura as another name of Mathura. The <u>Brhatkathakosa</u> mentions Indrapura, alias Kanyakubja. The <u>Harivamsapurana</u> mentions one Indrapura on the river Reva (Narmada) which may be identical with Indore in M.P.

Ishthapura: This town is mentioned in the <u>Varangacarita</u>, where its king has been represented as one Sanathumara.

Javalipura: This town was one of the most important centres of Jainism in the early medievalperiod. It was at this town that Udyotanasūri, the author of the <u>Kuvalayanala</u> completed his work in \$\frac{1}{2}\cdot 700\, corresponding to 779 A.D. The same authority informs us in the <u>prasasti</u> that there was a temple of Rshabha at this town. Afterwards, many other Jain temples, including one by Caulukya Kumarapada, were built at this town. A hill near this town called Svarnagiri had many Jain temples. At present, this is known as Jalor and is situated in Rajasthan.

Jalandhara: This place in modern Punjab is mentioned in a number of Jain works of our period. Yuan Chwang visited this town in the early 7th century A.D. Jalandara is mentioned in Svayambhūs Paumacarus. The 10th-century

writer Pushpardanta refers to the king of Jalandhara in his

Navakumaracaroa. 183

In the Fifth Book of the Mahavira carita

composed in V.S. 1139, corresponding to 1032 A.D., there is a
beautiful description of the town of Jalandhara.

Fushpadanta and is generally identified with Kakan in Nonghyr district of Bihar. 185 In the Kalpasūtra there is a reference to Kakandiya sakha which originated from Bhadrayasas, a disciple of Suhastin, apparently in the 3rd century B.C. A few scholars are of the opinion that Kakandi should be identified with modern Khukhund in Goraka district of U.P. Some Jain works of our period naturally refer to this place in connection with the description of Tirthankara Pushpandata's life. The Kuvalayamala of Udyotanasūri refers to the city of Kakandi. Silanka in his Cauppannamahapurushacariyam mentions Kakandi in connection with Pushpadanta. The

Kampilya: This great city of pre-Christian times, according to the Jain tradition was the birth-place of Vimalanatha (the thirteenth Tirthankara). This place has yielded some Jaina epigraphs. Afterwards it was considered a great Jain tirtha and it is generally identified with modern Kampil in Farrukhabad district of U.P. The seventh-century commentator Jinadasa mentions this place in the Nisitha Curni. It is also mentioned in the

Varangacarita. This place is also associated with the fourth Svetambara rebel (ninhava) who flourished 220 years after Lord Mahavira. It appears from the Brhatkathakosa that afterwards temples dedicated to Parsvanatha and Meminatha were built in this place. It is also mentioned prominently in the Yasastilaka. Jinaprabha in his Vividhatirthakalpa has also thrown some light on this place.

Kancanapura: This town is mentioned for the first time in the fourth Upanga text Prajnapana as the capital of Kalinga. As noted by J. C. Jain it is also mentioned in the Ogha Niryukti Bhashya and the Vasudevahindi. The <u>Vasudevahindi</u> further mentions the fact that there was trade between this place and Lankadvipa. We have been told that there was a terrible flood at Kancanapura in early times. The <u>Nisitha Curni</u> also refers to this This place is also mentioned by the Digambara writer Jinasena II as the capital of Kalinga in his It is also mentioned in Mayasimha's Harivamsapurana. Dharmapadeśamala, where this town is associated with Karakandu, the king of Kalinga. Śilanka 205 also refers to this place. It is generally identified with modern Bhuvaneswar. 206

Kanci t This well-known city was associated with the Digambara sect from quite early times. According to

a later tradition recorded by Prabhacandra in his Kathakośa, the saint Samantabhadra was originally a resident of this city. The Prakrit Lokavibhaga, 208 we are told was composed for the Prakrit Lokavibhaga, 208 we are told was composed in \$280 during the 22nd regnal year of the Pallava king Simhavarman of Kanci. The Nisitha Curni nentions the filver coin of this place as nelaka. It is mentioned frequently in the Kuvalavamala as the capital of Dravida country. Elsewhere 211 in the same text we have a description of a caravan, proceeding from Vindhyapuri to Kancipuri. Like Udyotana, Harikena in his Brhatkathakośa mentions Kanci as the capital of Maha-dravida country. An epigraph of the time of Pallava Nandivarmana II mentions a Jina temple complex near Kanci, which existed in the 8th century A.D. A Jain kirtha called Jina-Kanci existed near this town from the early medieval period.

Kauśambi: This celebrated city was closely connected with Jainism from very early times. According to an authentic tradition, recorded in the Bhagavati, Lord Mahavira personally visited Kauśambi during the reign of Udayana. From this city originated a new Svetambara Sakha called Kauśambika. This city is connected with the sixth Tirthankara Padmaprabha and we have some Jain antiquities from this place. In the Jain narrative literature of our period there are many references to this towar although the evident of Yuan Chwang suggests that by the 7th century

A.D. the city was in utter ruins. 217 In the Nisitha Curni and the <u>Varangaearita</u>, this city has been mentioned. Harivamsapurana 220 of Jinasena II describes Kausambi as situated on the river Kalindi (Yamuna). Elsewhere, the same work depicts the women of this city as engaged in preparing wine (Sidhukarini). This city has been prominently mentioned both by Jayasimha and Harisena. The commentator of the Yasastilakacamou places Kausambi some 44 gavvuti, equivalent to 176 miles from Gopacala (Gwalior). It has been identified carrectly by Cunningham with modern Kosam near Allahabad. Jinaprabha has mentioned this tirtha in his Vividhatirthakalpa,

Kajangala: This was an important town in eastern India during the days of Mahavira and Buddha. It is mentioned in the Bharavati 227 as Kayangala. It was a deserted place during the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit. Cunningham identifies it with Kankjol, near Rajmahal in Bihar. 229

Harnasuvarna: This town which was the capital 230 of the Bengal king Sasanka, according to Yuan-Chwang, was surely an important city of eastern India in the 7th century A.D. Surprisingly enough, Banabhatta, who mentions Sasanka has not said a word about this town. It is, however, mentioned in the well-known Nidhanpur copper plates of Bhaskaravarman. It, appears, that the only reference to

this town in Indian literature found so far, is in the Harivamsapurana 232 of Jinasena II. According to a tradition recorded by this poet, it was at this place that the epic hero Karna left his Kundala. This tradition is still current among the local people of Jadupur in Murshidabad district of West Bengal.

Ehajuraho: This famous historical place now situated in Chattarpur district of M.P., was connected with Digambara religion from 10th century A.D. The earliest Jain inscription 253 of this place is dated in V.S. 1011, corresponding to 955 A.D. This Jain temple of this place and the above mentioned epigraph of the reign of Candella king Dhanga abundantly prove that this place was connected with Jainism. Afterwards, also, this place was associated with the Jain religion as later Jain epigraphs suggest.

Khandagiri: This hill near modern Bhuvaneswar has yielded the famous Hathigumpha Inscription 235 of the Jain king Kharavela. It was near ancient Kalinga nagara. It is interesting to note that this particular hill gets the name Kumāri hill in this epigraph, and this name is found in the 10th century work of Harisena entitled Brhatkathākosa.

There is, therefore, little doubt, and as suggested by later Digambara inscriptions from this place, is continued to be sacred to the Bigambaras till the end of the 11th century.

Kopana: The place is at present known as Kophal and is situated in Raichur district of Karnataka.

One of the earliest inscriptions from this place refers to Jatasimhanandi who has been identified with the anthor of the Varangacarita, by A. N. Upadhye. Afterwards several Jain epigraphs were discovered from this place. In an epigraph from Sravana Belgola, Kopana has been called a mahatirtha.

This well-known Jain tirtha was probably situated in northern Bengal as the evidence of the Brhatkathakosa suggests. According to Harisena, the town of Devakotta situated in Varendra later came to be called by this name. This fact is also confirmed by the evidence of the Kathakosa of Prabhacandra, written in the 11th century A.D.

Kundinapura: This city according to the epicepuranic tradition was associated with, Rukmini, the first wife of Krshna. In the Harivamsa of Jinasena II this place is also associated with that famous queen. In another passage of the same work, Jinasena II categorically declares that it was situated on the river Varada in Vidarbha country. This town is also known from other sources. This town is also mentioned in Harisena's Brhatkathakosa who, too, correctly locates it in Vaidarbha Vishaya.

Lakshmesvera: This place situated in Dharwar district of Karnataka has yielded Jain epigraphs from the 6th century A.D., to a very late period. There were several temples built by a number of important historical personalities of this place. However, the most important temple of this place was Anesejjaya vasadi which was originally built by Kumkumadevi, the younger sister of Calukya Vijayaditya.

There were also other Jain temples which have yielded epigraphs of various periods.

Mahishmati: The Harivamsa (17.21) locates this famous town on the river Narmada. According to the Puranas, this city was founded by Mahishmat of the Sahasrada branch, belonging to the Yadava clan. It is now identified with modern Mandhata near the Narmada. Like the epic, the Paumacarivam of Vimala represents Arjuna as the king of Mahishmati. This place is also mentioned in the Brhatkathakośa of Harisena.

Manyakheta: This city was the capital of the Rashtrakutas and it is at present situated in the Gulbarga district of Karnataka. This place is associated with the activities of the Digambara poet Pushpadanta. Almost all his works were written at this town under the patronage of the minister, Bharata, whoworked under Krshna III. The Mahapurana of this poet was completed in 1887, corresponding to 965 A.D., at this town. His other work

the Navakumaracarita was composed at Manyakheta when the city according to his own testimony enjoyed rare prosperity. The sack of this city by the Puramara king of Dhara has been mentioned in a verse of the Mahapurana which was probably added a few years after the actual event. 253 This event actually occurred during the reign of Munja, according to the evidence of Dhanapaka's Prakrit dictionary entitled Paivalacchi. Afterwards, this city became a Digambara tirtha and there was a Neminatha temple at this place. It was also known as Malayakheda. At this place, Indranandi Yogindra composed his <u>Jvalamalinikalpa</u> in 2561, during the reign of Krshna III.

Mathura: (North): This great city of ancient

India was intimately connected with Jainism even from preChristian times. The large number of early Jain epigraphs,
found from this place, prove the popularity of Jainism in
this city from practically 100 B.C., down to the 11th century

A.D. Even in the Paumacarivam, we have a story regarding the
introduction of Jainism in Mathura. Almost all the
important Jain texts of our period have mentioned the
glorious condition of Jainism in Mathura. The evidence
of the Nisitha Curni proves that there was a regular
contact between Anandapura (in Gujarat) and Mathura. That
work, further mentions the Bhandira - tirtha of Mathura.

The two Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien and Yuan-Chwang visited

this city and have described it as a large metropolis. The 8th century poet Jinasena II has mentioned this city. The Kuvalayamala also throws some light on the social condition of Mathura. In one passage 261 of this work, we have a reference to the conversation of the disabled people in the anatha-mandapa (coor-kone) of this place. In the well-known <u>Uttarapurana</u> of Gunabhadra, we get a reference to the great Jain temple of Mathura, described as the principal shrine of that city. The temple, moreover, is said to be dedicated to Suvrata. A similar description of the Jain temples of Mathura is found in Jayasimha's. Dharmanade samela 263 written in V.S. 915, corresponding to 867 A.D. However, a much more detailed description of Mathura is found in the Brhatkathakosa. This work depicts this city as abounding in Jain temples (Jinayatana-Kandita). This work also refers to the five stupes (pancastupe) of Mathura which later gave birth to the Pancastupanikaya sect, mentioned in the Paharpur Copper Plate. This literary work further refers to the Jinaratha festival The Yasastilakacampu of Somadeva contains a valuable reference to the devanirmata-stupa of Mathura. The expression devanirmita actually occurs in a Kushana inscription of Mathura. Excavations at Mathura have also proved its close connection with the Jaina religion.

Mathura (South): In the Jain texts we have the interesting story of the foundation of Dakshina Mathura, also

known as Madura. This story is told in the Hariyamsapurana of Jinasena II. We are told by that author, that it was founded by the Pandavas. Elsewhere in the same text, Southern Mathura has been described as a city, situated in the Palkata country. Ptolemy in his Geography has mentioned this city as the royal capital of Pandion; According to Devasena's (933 A.D.) Darsanasara, the Dravidasanha was founded by Vajranandin, the disciple of Pujyapada in this city in the Vikrama year 526, corresponding to 468 A.D. It was therefore closely associated with the Digambara religion even in the 5th century A.D. Dharmanade samala refers to the commercial intercourse between this city and Northern Mathura. The Brhatkathakosa also mentions Southern Mathura as abounding in Jain temples. The Caurhannama Kapurushacariyam of Silanka also refers to southern Mathura as dahinamahuram.

Mithila: This ancient city of eastern India was is a metropolis of epic fame. The Kalpasutra informs us that Lord Mahkvara stayed in this city for six years. This place was also associated with two Tirthankaras viz.,

Neminatha and Mallinatha. The fourth Jain rebel Asamitta was associated with this city. Although it is often mentioned in the Jain literature of our period, the city lost all its importance in the post-Christian period, period and the references to this city in the post-Gupta narrative literature are perfunctory. Jinaprabha has devoted a

chapter in his <u>Vividhatirthakalpa</u> on Mithila.

Interestingly enough he has located this city on the confluence of Gandaki and Banaganga. According to him, it was known as Jagai in his time.

Mulasthana: This town famous for its Sun temple, which was well-known from quite early times. It was visited by in the 7th century A.D., who has given a Yuan-Chwang realistic description of this temple. The later puranic literature also refers to this town which was situated on the river Candrabhaga. In the <u>Kuvalayamala</u> of **U**dyotana, we have a reference to Mulasthana, the presiding god of which is called by the name bhattaraka. Another important reference to this town in the Jain literature of our period. is to be found in the Brhatkathakosa of Harisena, which refers to the aditya-bhavana of this place. This temple was probably destroyed by the Muslims during the closing years of the 10th century. 285

Mulgund: It was a renowned Jain centre from the early 10th century A.D. This is known from an inscription of this period discovered here. That this place was considered a great tirtha is evident from the Pragasti of Mallisena's unpublished poem called Trishashtisalakapurana also called Mahapurana completed in 1047 A.D. According to this pragasti the work was completed at the tirtha of Mulgund, now situated in Dharwar district of Karnataka. This place has also yielded an epigraph of a later period.

Mundira: According to the Brhatkathakosa,

composed in the early 10th century, this place had a famous

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Sun temple in the early medieval period. It is also mentioned

as a tirtha sacred to Sun-god in the kathakosa of

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Prabhacandra. This place is also mentioned in some later

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Puranas. According to Prof. Sirkar Mundira was located in

modern (ganga sagar. This view is based on a passage of the

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Skanda Purana.

Nagapura (Narroff): This place is now the well-known town of Nagaur in Rajasthan. The earliest reference to this place is found in the Dharmapodesamala of Jayasimhasuri. It appears 294 from a relevant verse of that work that there were a number of Jina temples here in the 9th century A.D., because we know from the same source that this work was completed during the reign of Pratihara Bhoja in V.S. 915, corresponding to 867 A.D., at one of the Jain shrines of Nagapura. In the later period the place became quite famous for several temples of this place including one called by the name Narayana Vasahi is well-known. The great Hemacandra was ordained by his guru at this place and the saints of the Kharatara gaccha often 296 visited it. A separate gaccha of the Svetambaras called the Nagapuriya gaccha originated from this place.

Nalanda: Thisplace near Rajgir in Bihar is mentioned repeatedly in the canonical texts of both the

Buddhists and Jains. It was here that lord Mahavira had met Gosala for the first time. The well-known Buddhist university was afterwards established at this place, which is elaborately described by Yuan Chwang. A Few Jain works of ore period have also referred to this town. It is mentioned in the 299 Avasyaka Curni in connection with the description of Mahavira's meeting with Gosala. This town is mentioned in the Brhatkathakosa of Harisena.

Nasik:

This well-known town of Western India
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is mentioned by several early authorities including Ptolemy.

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This place, according to Jinaprabha was well-known for its

Candraprabha temple. In a somewhat earlier work viz., the
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Prabhakaracarita, this temple has been mentioned. This place,
according to the Dharmapadesamala was considered the ornament
of Dakshinapatha. We should remember in this connection that
the term 'Daksinapatha' denoted the modern Maharashtra and
adjoining regions in ancient times. This place has been mentioned
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also in the Brhatkathakosa twice. In one passage, we are told
of a Durga shrine with was situated in a village called
Palasagrama near this town. The other passage simply refers to
this town.

Osia: This place in Jodhpur district of
Rajasthan was formerly known as Upakesapura or Ukesapura. An
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epigraph discovered from the place dated V.S. 1013,
corresponding to 956 A.D., discloses the fact that there existed

at this town, during the days of Pratihara Vatsaraja, a temple of Mahavira. That this place was considered sacred to Lord Mahavira is also proved by the very valuable 307 evidence of the <u>Vividhatirthakalpa</u>.

Padaliptapura: It is modern Palitana in Gujarat.

According to a later Jain tradition recorded by the Prabha and 308

Prabhawakacarita, this town was built by the same Padalipta

who flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era.

However, it is doubtful whether this town existed at such an early time. The importance of this twon lies in the fact that it is situated at the foothills of Satrunjaya. A temple of Mahavira existed at this place according to the 309

Prabandhacintamani.

Palasika: This ancient <u>Firtha</u> is known from several 310 Kadamba epigraphs and is now known as Halsi, which is situated in the Belgaum District of Karnataka. However, at present, there is no trace of Jainism at this place. The relevant epigraphs prove that there existed a number of Jina temples in the 4th/5th centuries A.D., at this place. An undated epigraph from this place of the reign of Kadamba Harivarman proves that Palasika was the capital(adhishthana) of this particular king.

Pataliputra: This great city was associated with Jainism from the 4th century B.C. According to the

Avasyaka Curni, the first Svetambara Council was held at this place. The great philosopher Umasvati was a resident of this town. Jain philosophers like Sthulabhadra, Bhadrabahu I, Mahagiri and Suhastin were all connected with this place.

According to the Brhatkalpabhashya two silver coins of Kańci was equivalent to one silver coin of Pataliputra.

The town is also mentioned prominently in the Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapala.

Pattana : See Anahilapura.

Eave : This according to both the Jains and the Buddhists was the place where Lord Mahavira had breathed his last. The present day Jains generally identify it with Pavapuri in the Nalanda district of Bihar. But the Buddhist evidence suggests that Pava was near Kusinara. Cunningham also prefers to identify it with Padaraona, twelve miles north, north-east of Musinagara. Carlleyle, however, identifies it with Fazilpur which is ten miles south-east of Kusinagara.

This place has been mentioned in the prasasti of the Kuvalayamala as the capital of Toraraya (Toraraya which, according to Udyotana, was situated on the river Candrabhaga. According to a few scholars it should be identified with Paviya (modern Chachar). However, this suggestion is no more than tentative, but it was certainly situated

somewhere in the modern undivided Punjab.

Podanapura: It is now identified with a place called Bodhan in Nizambad district of A.P. It was a stronghold of Jainism in the period under review. One of the earliest 319 references to this place is found in the Hariyamsa Purana of Jinasena II. It is also mentioned in the Prakrit work 320 called Dasabhakti (Dasavatti) attributed to the Digambara saint Kundkunda. Harisena mentioned Podanapura but locates it in Uttarapatha. It is also mentioned in the Uttarapurana of Gunabhadra, where it is located in a district called Suramya.

Pratishthana: This was an ancient town, now identified with Panthan in the Auranagabad district of Maharashtra.

According to the Svetambara tradition this place was considered 323 sacred to Muni Suvrata. According to the Nisitha Curni king Satavahana was interested in the Jain religion. The Nisitha and Kalpasutra Gurnis further refer to the celebration of the Indra festival on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Bhadra by the residents of city. There are some more references to Pratishthana in the Jain literature. A fine description of the commercial prospeirty of Pratishthana is found in the Kuvalayamala of Udyotanasuri. In the Brhatkatha literature also Fratishthana has been repeatedly mentioned.

Prayaga : This sacred tirtha of the Hindus was

also known as Prayaga-Pratishthana. This place according to 326
the <u>Vividhatirthakalpa</u> was sacred to Sitalanatha. The <u>Nisitha 327</u>
<u>Curni</u> calles it an unholy place. The <u>Akshaya-vata</u> of 328
Prayaga is mentioned by both Yuan Chwang and Udyotanasuri.

Prayaga has also been referred to as a <u>tirtha</u> in Jayasimha's <u>330</u>
<u>Dharmappadesamala</u>

This well-known town of eastern India Pundravardhana: is new represented by the ruins of Mahasthana in the present Bogura district of Bangladesh. This town was evidently connected with Jainism from the days of Bhadrabahu who according to the Brhatkathakosa was a resident of Devakotta which was situated in the janapada of Pundravardhana or Varendra. It was visited by Yuan Chwang in the 7th century, according to whom, there was wave numerous Digambara Jains at this town. It is mentioned as Pamdavaddhana in <u>Dharmapadesamalā</u> of Jayasimha sūri. Pushpadanta in his Navakumaracariu refers to the city of Pundravardhana as adorned with many buildings. The Rajatarangini also mentions this affluent city in connection with the description of Jayapida's visit to this town in the 8th century A.D. The same work also refers to the Karttika temples of this town which is corroborated by the evidence of the Vamana Purana. The Nisitha Curni mentions this place as being famous for its different varieties of cloth. The fine cloth of this place has also mentioned by earlier writers like Kautilya and Banabhatta .

This city according to the Ramayana Pushkalavati: founded by Bharata for one of his sons. It was visited by Yuan Chwang in the 7th century A.D., who describes it as a city of moderate size. The Jaina works of our period do not yield any concrete description of this city, although in the much earlier Navadhammakahao, we get a reference to this place in connection with Parsvanatha. It is mentioned in the 344 <u>Harivanga</u> of Jinasena II. It is also mentioned in the Brhatkathakosa of Harisena and by other writers too. It appears that the city lost its importance in the period under review. It is identified with Hastnajar near Peshawar in present Pakistan. This city was also well-known to the classical writers. Ptolemy mentions it as Poklais. It is also mentioned by the author of the Periplus.

Pushkara: This great tirtha of the Hindus was also 347 known to the Jains. The Nisitha Curni mentions it as a tirtha.

It is also mentioned in the Kivalayamala of Udyotana. The 349 Varangacarita also mentions it and in the later period also the Jainas took some active interest in this place.

Purushapura: This well-known town of great antiquity is famous for the Buddhist Vihara built by Kanishka and was visited by both Fa-hien and Yuan-Chwang. The latter mentions it as the capital of Gandhara. At the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit, the Janapada of Gandhara was a dependency of Kapisi.

Both this pilgrim and Fa-hien have mentioned the stupa of Kaniskka. Jayasimha in his <u>Daarmapoodesamala</u> has mentioned it as Purisapura and placed it like Yuan-Chwang in the Gandhara janapada. It is the well-known city of peshawar in modern Pakistan.

This celebrated city of eastern India was Rajagrha: intimately connected with the career of Lord Mahavira. We have inscriptions of the Gupta age from this place which reveal that the Digambaras were quite popular during the Gupta period in Rajgir. It was always considered a Jain tirtha. An interesting reference to this place in our time will be found in the Tiloyapannati where it is given the epithet Pancasocilanavara i.e. Pancasailanagara meaning a town surrounded by five hills. These five hills are mentioned in both the Mahabharata and Buddhist literature. The Harivamsa Purana of Jinasena II contains a magnificent description of Rajagrha which the author calls by the name Pancasaila Pura and correctly describes it as the birthplace of Muni Suvrata. He not only gives the names of the five hills but also their respective directions. The first hill Rshigiri is placed to the east, the second Vaibhara to the south, the third Vipula to the south-east, the fourth Valahaka circummented three sides of Rajagrha whilst the fifth Panduka stood in the north-east. This city was visited by both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang. In the Kuvalavamala there is a reference to a route between Hastinapura and Rawagrha. The Harivamsapurana also refers to two cayes viz.,

Siddhasila and Nilaguha of Rajagrha. Some other works of this period which refer to this famous city are the Nisitha Curni, the Dharmap@desamala, the Uttarapurana the Brhatkathakośa etc. The Samaraiccakaha refers to it by the name Kshitipratishthita.

Rajapura: This town was the capital of the Yaudheya janapada according to a number of Jain works of our period. It has been identified with modern Rajauri which is situated to the South of Kashmir. In the Mahabharata, this town is associated with the Kambojas. It was visited by Yuan Chwang in the early 7th century A.D., who represents it as a dependency of Kashmir. The 8th century work Harivamsapurana apparently mentions this town. is also mentioned in several passages of the Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra. The Brhatkathakosa mentions it correctly as the capital of the Yaudheya country and this is confirmed by the evidence of the Jasaharacariu All these poets refer to the temple of Candamari or Katyayani of this town.

Rajvapura: The name of this town is disclosed by an early 10th century inscription from Rajorgarh the Alwar district of Rajasthan. Evidently Rajorgarh is the modern name of ancient Rajyapura, where, according to that inscription a temple of Santinatha existed.

Ratnapuri: This place is the Faizabad district of U.P. according to Jain tradition, was the birth place of Dharmanatha, the fifteenth firthankara. The Adipurana places it in Kosala janapada.

Jinaprabha in his <u>Vividhatirthakalpa</u>

locates it near Ayodheya. He calls it by the name

Ratnavahapura and describes it as situated on the Gharghara

river.

This town was well-known from the days of the Mahabharata, which associates it with the worship of the deity Karttikeya. The earliest reference to Rohitaka in Jain literature is found in the Upanga text, Nirayaya which mentions a yaksha shrine of this place. However, the most interesting reference to this town is made by that remarkable Digambara poet Harisena in his inimitable work, the Brhatkathakosa. One of the innumerable stories told by Harisena, not only refers to Rohiteka (Rohitaka), but surprisingly, also connects the worship of the god Karttikeya with this place. This evidence clearly illustrates that practically from the epic period to the 10th century A.D. Karttikeya worship was popular amongst the people of this region. It is identified with modern Robitaka in Haryana. This place was afterwards connected with Parsvanatha. 379

Saketa: See Ayodhya.

Satvapura: This great Jain tirtha was certainly in existence from the Gupta period. It was associated with Saturd Mahavira according to the author of the Vividhatirthakalpa from even pre-Gupta period. The poet Dhanapala has also praised the Mahavira temple of this place in his Satvapuriva Mahavira Utsaha. In a later inscription, discovered from Sanchor (The modern name of Satyapura), this temple of Mahavira has been mentioned.

Shanderaka: This place, now known as Sandera is situated in the Pali district of Rajasthan and is well-known of the Santinatha temple. According a later epigraph a separate Svetambara gaccha had originated at this place and the founder was Yasobhadra, who flourished in V.S. 964.

This town is associated with the 11th Tirthankara Sreyamsa and is naturally mentioned in many Jain texts of our period. The evidence of Yuan Chwang suggests that this place should be identified with the Salt Range in modern Funjab of Pakisthan. It is interesting to note that the Chinese pilgrim connects it with the founder of the white-cloth sect. Stein discovered a member of Jain antiquities from this place. The Varangacarita also associates this place with the Tirthankara Sreyamsa.

The present day Jains, however, identify Simhapura with Sarnath near Varanasi. That the original Simhapura, connected with Sreyamsa, is not modern Sarnath is also proved by the revealing statement given by Pushpadanta in his 387

Navakumaracarita which tells us of a bridal procession travelling from Karyakubja to Simhapura Mia Mathura.

This shows that even in the 10th century A.D., Simhapura was located in the north-western part of India.

Sravasti : This great city has been mentioned repeatedly in the Jain literature of our period. An early Svetambara Sakha, called Sravastika had originated here around 300 B.C. This city was connected with the Tirthankara Sambhavanatha. An old temple of Sambhavanatha was actually unearthed from the ruins of Sravasti. The Nisitha Curni shows that it was also known as Kunalanayari. Jinasena II, the author of the <u>Harivamsapurana</u> refers to a large Kamadeva temple of this place. By the time of Yuan Chwang's visit, it was a ruined city. The Samaraiccakaha also mentions this place but gives no additional information. 392 <u>Varangacarita</u> also associates it with Sambhavanatha. The mentions it more than once. It is identified with Sahet-Maheton the bank of the Rapti. Dharmapode samala Vivarana of Jayasimhasuri even refers to a prostitute of Sravasti.

Suktimati : This city of epic fame was the capital of the Cedi king, Sisupala, according to the Mahabharata. We learn from the same source that it was situated near a river called Suktimati. According to the Vaishnava Harivamsa . Suktimati was situated on the Rksha Mountain. We should remember that Rksha was considered a part of Vindhya. It is mentioned in an inscription of the Gupta period found from Kausambi. In the literature of our period this place is rarely mentioned, although we get a few useful references to it in the Jain literature of this period. Jain <u>Harivamsa</u> supports the statement of the Mahabharata that this city stood on the banks of the river Suktimati (Suktimatvastate diagyi Namna Suktimatipuri). This town is also mentioned as Satthivai in the Samaraiccakaha, where it has been mentioned as a Kannivesa and not far from the Vindhya mountain. Incidentally, Jinasena II also locates it on the 'Vindhyaprshtha.401 In the Jain canonical literature it is represented as the capital of the Cedi Interestingly enough, Somadeva in his country. locates it in the Dahala janapada Yasastilakacampu which is the medieval name of the Cedi country. Dehala in the early medieval period was associated with the Kalacuris, as we learn from a number of epigraphs. It was situated probably not for from modern Banda.

Sthane Svara: This place is the same as modern

Thene sar near Kurukshetra in Haryana. It was the capital of the Pushyabhutis and we have a detailed description of this place in the Harshacarita of Bana. It was visited by Larsha's friend Yuan-Chwang and according to him Sthanesvara was the name of a janapada and a city. Haribhadra, the author of the Samaraiccakaha (Third Bhava) refers to this town in his work.

Erhatkathakosa where it has been placed on the bank of the river Jamuna. Elsewhere also in the same work this town has been mentioned. Another Sripura has been mentioned in the Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra. One other Sripura situated in the Akola district of Maharashtra is a well-known tirtha dedicated to Parsvanatha. Jinapabha's Vividhatirthakalpa gives a vivid description of it. Yet another Sripura situated in Karnataka (near Gudalur) had a Jain Ahrine called Lokatilaka in the 8th century A.D.

Surparaka: This ancient port is repeatedly mentioned in the Jain literature of our period. Jinadasa in his Curnis written in the 7th century, has mentioned it and also 409 410 referred to the Jains of this place. The Hariyamsa of Jinasena II also mentions this city. The Kuvalayamala

of Udyotana refers to Surparaka as a big emporium for traders from Sifferent parts of the country. It is mentioned in the <u>Dharmanordesamala</u> as situated in Konkana Vishaya. It appears from that same text that it was also known as Konkana nagara which according to it was situated near Sahya mountain. The Jivantasvama Rshabhanatha temple of 414 this place was widely known from very early times.

Tagarapura: This place was a great commercial centre from at least 1st century A.D., as we know from the Periplus.

It is also mentioned by Ptolemy. This often mentioned in the Jain commentaries of our period. This place has been prominently referred to by Harisena in his Brhatkathskosa who calls it Terapura and in that text he significantly places it in the Abhira country. It is now situated in the Osmanabad district of Maharashtra.

Another writer viz. Kanakamara (11th century) has mentioned the Parsvanatha temple-complex of Teranagara in his Karakandacariu, written in Apabhrantsa.

Takshasila: This great city now situated in Pakistan is generally associated with Bahubali in Jain tradition.

The Avasyaka Curni pointedly mentions the Dharmacakra of this place. According to Sir John Marshall, that noted archaeologist, there were, once, several Jain edifices at

Takshasila. 422 This place is often mentioned in the Jain texts of our period. The <u>Harivansa</u> of Jinasena II refers to this city. Silanka in his Cauppannanahapurush refers to Takashasila as the capital of Bahubali and the story of the establishment of Dharma-cakra by that Jain saint at this place. The Kuvalavamala describes Takshasila with its deep most (Parikha) and high city-walls as a centre of Jainism where the Samavasarana of the first Tirthankara was being held. Elsewhere, in the same work, we get a description of a Sarthavaha taking his caravan from Takshasila to Surparaka. 426 The city was finally destroyed by the Muslims and a rare description of this destruction is to be found in the Jain <u>Prabhavaka Carita</u>. Incidentally, this famous city was visited by both the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Yuan-Chwang.

The ancient port of eastern India played an important role in the commercial life of our country from pre-Christian times. According to the Bhagavati one of the prominent disciples of Lord Mahavira was a resident of this town. Afterwards, according to the Kalpasutra 229 Svetambara Sakha called Tamraliptaka originated from this place. It is mentioned in Vimala's Paumacariyam which is perhaps the first reference to this town in a non-canonical Tan's work. The fourth Upanga text called Prainapana in its

list of 252 kanapadas mentions Tamralipta as the capital of Vanga. The <u>Sútrakṛtangacurni</u> refers to the mosquito menace at Tamralipta. In the Jain literature of our period we get numerous references to this port. The Harivansapurana refers to Tamralipta as a commercial centre. The _____434 Samaraiccakahā has mentioned this port in several places of that text. This town is also mentioned as a commercial e centre in the Caupbannamahapurashacarivam There are several references to this town in the Brhatkat It is also mentioned in the Yasastilakacampu of Harisena. Prabhacandra (11th century) in his of Somadeva. has given a very interesting reference to a Parsva temple of this town which proves that Jainism survived at this place upto his time. We should also note that both the Chinese pilgrims visited this ancient port.

Tosali: This well-known place or Orissa was known to the Jain writers of our period. It is mentioned several times in the Nisitha Curni and is at present 440 situated in the Cuttack district. Madhu Sen has drawn our attention to a passage of that text which mentions a typical custom of Svavamvara prevalent among the slaves of Tosali vishaya. This place is also known from an Asokan inscription.

Tripura: This town has been referred to by some of the Jain writers of our period. The <u>Varangacarita</u>

mentions this place. It is also mentioned in the

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<u>Uttarapurana</u> and the <u>Brhatkathakośa</u>. It may be
identical with the well-known town of Tripuri near

Jubbulpore, the early capital of the Kalacuris.

Ujjayini: This great city of ancient India is repeatedly mentioned not only in the canonical Jain literature, but also in popular Jain narrative texts of our period. It is mentioned several times in the Migitha The Avasyaka Curni represents it as a centre of commerce. In the earlier canonical text, the Antagadadasao. There is a highly interesting reference to the Mahakala ceretery of Ujjayini. There are two good descriptions of this town in the 8th-century Kutalayamala of Udyotana. A beautiful description of the Mahakala temple of this place is given elsewhere in this work. In this connection, the writer refers to the bloody offering and sacrifices and use of liquor and human skull related to Vetalasadhana, which reminds us of the description in the Kadambari. The Harivamsapurana of Jinasena II mentions the Mahakala shrine of Ujjayini and also the adjoining burning ghat. The <u>Dharmon de samala</u> convains numerous references to this glorious city. In one place Ujjayini has been described as adorned with Jain temples.

In the <u>Uttarapurana</u>, the cemetery of Ujjayini is called Visala. The <u>Brhatkathakosa</u> contains innumerable references to this great city. Like Jayasimha, Harisena also describes this city as adorned with Jain temples. The famous Mahakala temple also has been mentioned by the author of the <u>Brhatkathakosa</u>. In story number 102

Harishena refers to the Vetala and Kapalika-vidya connected with the worship of Mahakala of Ujjayini. Somadeva also in his <u>Yasastilaka</u> mentions Ujjayini. It was visited by Yuan-Chwang in the 7th century who describes it as a flourishing town with many deva temples.

Vaisali: This ancient city of eastern India

was connected with the early life of the last Tirthankara

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viz., Lord Mahavira. According to the Kalpasutra

Mahavira spent at least twelve years of his ascetic life

at Vaisali and its suburbs. Afterwards, this great city

was practically forgotten by the Jains. This is due to

the fact that by the Gupta period (at the time of

Fa-Hien's visit) it was a deserted city. Yuan-Chwang

gives us the vital information that at the time of his

sojourn in this country (second quarter of the 7th century)

there were numerous Digambara Jains Vaisali. There are

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two references to Vaisali in the Dharmapadesamala of

Jayasimha. Another Vaisali situated in Sindhu janapada

has been mentioned in the <u>Uttarapurana</u>. However, this may be an error as in the relevant passage the well-known Cetaka (king of Vaisali of eastern India) has been represented as the king of this place.

<u>Valabhī</u>: This celebrated city of Western India played a great part in the social, cultural and commercial history of India at least from the Gupta period. Before its destruction by the Muslims, in the second half of the 8th century, it continued as the premier city of Western India. The Jain works and several other epigraphs often refer to it and it is well-known that the final Jain Council was held here during the reign of Dhruvasena Is in the beginning of 6th century A.D. The Viseshavasyakabhashya Jinabhadragani informs us that this work was composed at Valabhi in Saka 531 (610 A.D.) during the reign of Siladitya, whose inscriptions range between 606 A.D., and 610 A.D., It further shows that Valabhi was a stronghold of Jainism. Quite a few Svetambara images have been recently discovered from the ruins of this city which have been assigned to the 6th century A.D. This city was also visited by Yuan-Chwang who refers to its reigning king, who name is read as Dhwuvapata who is no doubt identical with Dhruvasena II Baladitya who ruled between 629 A.D. -642 A.D. It is interesting to note that the Council

at Valabhi mentioned in Svetambara works was also known to the Digambaras. The Brhatkathakosa refers to this council of the Svetambaras, who are called by the name ardha-Phalaka. This event is also indirectly mentioned in the Darsanasara of Devasena composed in Vikrama 990 (933 A.D.). According to him the Svetambaras originated at Valabhi 136 years after Vikramaditya who can be no other than the illustrous Gupta king Chandragupta Vikramaditya. The Yasastilakacampu mentions Valabhi twice. It is now identified with Wala some twenty miles north-west Bhavnagar in Gujarat. The Vividhatirthakalpa refers to the Candraprabha temple of this place which existed here before the destruction of this city by the Muslims in V.S. 845 (787 A.D.). The Muslim historian, Al-Biruni, has also recorded the destruction of this city in his work. We are also told in several Jain texts that the famous Jaina images of Valabhi were removed to other towns before its devastation.

<u>Varanasi:</u> This premier city of ancient India was the birthplace of Lord Parsvanatha, the twenty-third Tirthankara of the Jains. It is not only given prominence in the epics and Puranas but also in the early Buddhist and Jain literature. Almost all the Jain works of our period mention Varanasi several times. According to the Jain tradition it also the birthplace of Suparsva, the seventh Tirthankara. J.C. Jain

draws our attention to a passage of the Avasyaka Nirvukti, according to which Lord Mahavira once went there from Kausambi. That Varanasi was regarded as a holy place by the Hindus is proved by a passage of the <u>Kuvalayamala</u>. A Jain of 801 A.D., of the time of Ganga king Sripurusha inscription also recognises Varanasi as a great Hindu tirtha. Elsewhere, in the Kuvalayamala a description of this city of Kasi Vishaya is given and we told that the Arthasastra of Kautilya (Canakya-Sattham) was taught in the educational centre of this place. That Kasi or Varanasi was closely associated with the Digambaras is also clearly proved by the Paharpur Copper of G.E. 159, corresponding to 479 A.D., found from Rajshahi, Bangladesh. This epigraph mentions a Digambara saint called Guhanandin of Kasi who apparently flourished sometime before the date of this inscription and he had his devotees in Bengal in the 5th century A.D: This inscription further informs us that Guhanandin was connected with the Pancastupanikava sect. As we have already seen this sect was also popular in the Mathura region. There are frequent references to this town in the <u>Brhatkathakosa</u>. This city is also mentioned in a few other texts of our period such as the Uttarapurana, Dharmapadesamala, Yasastilaka etc. At the time of Yuan Chwang's visit there were thousands of Saiva devotees at Varanasi.

Vardhamanapura: This town is generally identified with

modern Wadhwan in Gujarat. According to the prasasti of
the Harivamsa Jinasena II had commenced his work in the temple
of Parsvanatha of this town, and he further says that this
work was completed in 705 at a place called Dostatika near
Girnar. Jinasena's evidence therefore proves that the Parsva
temple of this town was certainly built before his time. It
was at the same town that another Digambara poet viz Harisena
had complete his Brhatkathakosa in the reign of emperor
Vinayaka pala in V.S.989, corresponding to 931 A.D. It is
interesting to note that in the relevant verse of the Prasasti
this town has been represented as an affluent city, full of
beautiful Jain temples. Both these poets belonged to the
Punnata Sangha of the Digambaras. This town has been mentioned
in an inscription, of somewhat later times where a temple of
Karttikeya was built in the 12th century.

Vardhamana: The 11th Anga text, Vipakasruta mentions
Mahavira's visit to Vardhamanapura. It is probably identical
with Burdwan of Bengal. That Vardhamana (Bengal) was quite an
old place is also proved by the evidence of the Brhatsamhita
where, it is mentioned as a city and a janapada. It is also
mentioned in the 6th century inscription of Gopachandra.

Vasantapura: The city has been repeatedly mentioned in the Dharmapode samala of Jayasimha. It is apparent from the

A.D. In two places, it refers to a Sarthavaha of this city.

This place is generally identified with present Vasantagadh in the Sirohi district of Rajasthan. This place has yielded a 7th century Jain inscription dated V.S. 744. It has been 493 suggested that an older name of Vasantapura was Vatapura. The Samaraiccakaha also refers to a Vasantapura, but we do not know whether it is identical with the Vasantapura mentioned by Jayasimha.

Vidisa: This town was also known as Vaidisapura or Vaidisanagara and is mentioned for the first time in the 495 last book of the Ramayana. Epigraphic evidence proves that its association with Jainism is as old as the Gupta period. The local Museum at Vidisa has two Jain images both of which refer to Maharajadhiraja Ramagupta. These inscriptions further refer to a number of Digambara monks. Another epigraph found from Udayagiri near Vidisa dated G.Y. 106 (426 A.D.) mentions a Jain acarva called Bhadracarya belonging to Aryakula. These three records surely prove that the Vidisa region was closely connected with the Digambara religion since the Rupta period. A useful reference to this town is to be found in 498 Jinasena II's Hariyamsa Purana. It is also known as a janapada.

<u>Vijayapuri:</u> This town is generally identified with modern Nagarjunikonda in Andhra Pradesh. Ag very early reference

to it is found in the Paumacarivam of Vimala. It has been conjectured by Pfof. D.C. Sircar that this Vijayapuri was built in the year Vijaya, corresponding to 213-14 A.D., and named after Vijaya Satakarni, whose inscription bearing the 500 regnal year 6 has been discovered from Nagarjunikonda.

Vijayapuri is also mentioned in another Nagarjunikonda inscription of Virapurushadatta bearing the regnal year 14.

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This city is mentioned in the Kuvalayamala of Udyotana who gives a detailed description of this town and its market-place where people using different dialects comingled. Udyotana also tells us that the distance between Ayodhya and Vijayapuri could be covered in 33 days (ekkam masam tinni vasarattassa). The

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Adipurana also refers to this town. It is also mentioned in 504
the Brhatkathakosa.

Vitibhaya: This town was the capital of Sindhu-Sauvira

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janapada according to the Prajnapana and the Brhatkalpasutra.

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It is also mentioned in the Bhagavati. The Nisitha Curni states

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that it was 80 yojanas from Ujjayini. The Harivamsa of Jinasena

II places it in the Sindhu country.

Section (iii): Important Rivers, Mountains and Hills.

The earliest list of rivers will be found 510 in the Nadisukta of the Rksamhita in which as many as nineteen rivers have been eulogised. Most of these rivers are now in modern Pakistan, as well as Punjab, Haryana and western U.P., in India. It includes also a few rivers flowing outside India. A much bigger list of rivers will be found in the Bhishmaparvan 511 of the Mahabharata which gives the names of rivers from all over India. In the Buddhist and Jain canonical texts we have several references to various rivers particularly of northern India. In the Jain literature of our period we get not only the names of rivers mentioned in the earlier works but sometimes a few new names are added.

Vimala's Paumacarivam, one of the earliest

Jain narrative works refer to a number of rivers like the

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Narmada, Tapi, Ganga, (called by the name Janhavi) Sindhu, Yamuna

(called Jauna on which, according to the author Kausambi was

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situated). Mandakini etc.

The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> mentions the <u>Ganga, Narmada</u>

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<u>Reva, Candrabhaga, Sita, Sindhu</u> etc.

The Harivamsa of Jinasena II names a number

of rivers some of which are well-known. These are Narmada (17.21), (45.113), Varada (17.23), Reva (17.27), Tarangini, Vegavati (46.49)

Suktimati (17.36), Kalindi (14.2), Godavari (31.2), Kusumavati (27.14), Ganga (5.123), Ganga-Sindhu (5.267), Nari (5.124),

Rohava (Rohita) (5.123), Raktoda (5.125), Rakta (5.125), Vitata (11.79), Sindhu (5.123), Sita (60.62), 5.123), Sitoda (5.123), 5.241),

Suvarnakula (5.124), Suvarnavati (27.14), Harikanta (5.135) etc.

One of the most interesting geographical references in Jinasena's work is that of the river <u>Iravati</u> 524 which has been described as flowing Suvarnadipa. There is little doubt that this river is the modern Iravaddy the biggest river of Burma. This probably, is the earliest reference to this particular river in Indianliterature. It was apparently named after the famous <u>Iravati</u> of the Punjab.

The Adipurana of Jinasena I written in the first half of the 9th century contains a very interesting 525 list of rivers, most of which are found in the Furanic literature, 526 and the Brhatsamhita. These are viz. Atigambhira (29.50), Ambena (29.87), Aruna (29.50), Avantikama (29.64), Ikshumati (29.83), Usiravati (46.145), Una (29.62), Audumbari (29.54), Kajja(29.62), Kapivati (29.41), Karabhavegini (29.65), Kariri (30.57), Kagandhu (29.34), Kalamahi (29.50), Kalatova (29.50), Kubja (29.87), Krtamala (29.63), Krshnavenna (29.86), Ketamba-Ketava (30.57),

Kausiki (29.50), Gambhira (29.50), Godevari (29.85), Gomati (29.49), Carmanveti (Chambal) (29.64), Citravati (29.58), Cullitari (29.65), Curni (29.87), Jambumati (29.62), Jahnavi (26.147), Tamasa (29.54), Nivindhva (29.62), Niskundari (29.61), Nira (30.56), Panasa (29.54), Parajia (29.63), Para (39.51) Prantsa (29.54), Praveni (29.86), Prahara (30.58), Bahuvaira (29.61), Bana (30.57), Bijanadi (29.52), Bhaimarathi (Bhimarathi) (30.55), Mahendraka ((29.84), Malvavati (29.59), Mashavati (29.84), Marara (30.58), Mula (30.56), Makhala (29.52), Yamuna (29.54), Rathaspha (29.49), Ramya (29.61), Reva (29.65), Rohitasva (32.123), Langalakhatika (30.62), Vanga (29.83), Vasumeti (29.63), Visala (29.61), Vrtravati (29.58), Vena (29.87), Veni (30.83), Venumati (29.59), Valtareni (29.84), Vvaghri (29.64), Satabhoga (29.65), Sarkaravati (29.63), Sushkanadi (29.84), Suktimati (29.84), Sona (Sond) (29.52), Svasana (29.85), Saptapara (29.65), Sannira (29.86), Santagodávara (29.85), Samatova (29.62), Saravu (45.144), Sikatini (29.61), Sindhn (29.61), &Sipra (29.63), Sita (37.98), Suprayoga (29.86), Sumagadhi (29.49), Sukarika (29.87), Hastipani (29.64).

The Brhatkathakosa of Harisana mentions some of the well-known rivers like Airavati i.e. Iravati of Punjab (Story No. 78, 105), Kalindi (another name of Yamuna) (Story No. 150), Krshna (Story No. 43),

Ganga (Story No. 18, 21, 55 etc), Gomati (Story No. 139),

Tungabhadra (Story No. 46), Narmada (No. 108), Mandakini

(No. 18, 73, 96), Yamuna (in the story No. 19, Yamuna is significantly associated with Kausambi As we have already sean the Paumacarivam correctly associates

Kausambi with the Yamuna (Nos. 66, 105, 138),

Begavati (Nos. 28, 100), Saravu (No. 28), Sarasvati

(No. 157), Sindhu (No. 33), Sipra (No. 72, 73, 105, 131),

Suvarnavati (No. 78).

Ganga, Sindhu etc., are also mentioned in this work. The author of the <u>Brhatkathakosa</u>, undoubtedly had a thorough knowledge not only about various towns and <u>janapadas</u> of India but also about its rivers and mountains. However, most of the river names found in Jain works are also known from other sources.

Like the rivers, the mountains and hills of India have been prominently mentioned by the Jain writers of our period. The seven important mountains (kutacalas) are prominently mentioned in the Puranic literature 528 and Ptolemy's Geography. In the Jain canonical literature the seven kulaparvatas are mentioned by name, and there are also scattered references to these kulaparvatas and other hills of India in the literature of

our period.

The Paumacarivam, probably the earliest Jain non-canonical text, has preserved the names of several important mountains and hills of India. Among the Kulaparvatas we have such names as Mahendra (55.16), Malava (31.100; 55.16), and <u>Vindhya</u> (39.100). Among other mountains of India we get such names as Kailasa (9.96); 12.36 etc), Uriavanta (20.48, 51), which is one of the earliest references to this holy hill of the Jains, Citrakuta (33.4, 9), which is identical with the <u>Citrakuta</u> near Allahabad and hence not to be confused with the well-known Chitor; Devagiri (6.8) which may or may not be identical with the Devatiri of Kalidasa's Meghaduta; Mandara (3.78; 21.18 etc.) which may be the mountain near Bhagalpur and which is mentioned in the Vasudevahindi, Meru (42.86; 107.7 etc.), Ramagiri (40.16), which is also mentioned by several other writers including Ravisena, Mahaviracarya, Jinasena II, Harishena and others, <u>Sammeta</u> (8.10; 20.52 etc.), Kalinjara (58.9) etc.

The <u>Kuvalayamala</u> mentions three <u>Kulaparvatas</u> viz. <u>Malaya</u> (8.3; 45.18), <u>Vindhya</u> (99.14), <u>Sahya</u> (134.25; 184.25). This work also refers to other hills such as <u>Satruniaya</u> (124.18), the sacred hill of Gujerat which is mentioned for the first time in the <u>Navadhammakahao</u>, the sixth Anga text. The <u>Sammatasaila</u> or the Pareshnath hill has also been mentioned here (124.18); 216.6) and in all other

Jain works of our period. A number offhills are also mentioned in the <u>Samaraiccakaha</u>: These are <u>Udavagiri</u> (2, p. 136) which is probably identical with a hill of the same name near Bhubaneswar in Orissa, ⁵³¹ <u>Malava</u>(5,438, 441 ff, 449 etc.), <u>Meru</u> (2, 470), <u>Ratnagiri</u> (6, p. 541; 7, p. 648) which according to Cunningham is one of the mountains near Rajagrha; <u>Vindhya</u> (6, p. 501 etc.), <u>Sumsumara</u> (2, pp. 107-108), which this mountain is identical with the hill of the same name in Buddhist canonical literature.

A few hills are specially associated with the Jain religion. In this connection may be mentioned Uriavanta, Satruniava, Sammeda, Ramagiri and Kumaragiri etc. Urjavanta was also known as Raivataka and it is clear from the that it was near the ancient town of Kusasthali which was surely near the present town of Junagadh. It is likely that in the historical period Kusasthali was renamed We have both epigraphic and literary references Girinagara. to this town. The earliest Jain canonical reference to Uriavanta will be found in the Navadhammakahac. This hill has been repeatedly mentioned in all the important Jain works of period, including the Hariyamsa of Jinasena II, Brhatkathakosa etc. Adiourana, Uttarapurana, the Jain literature Urjavanta is associated with Neminatha, the 22nd Tirthankara.

The Satrumjaya hill is also mentioned

in the Navadhamakahao, apparently as a sacred hill.

Afterwards this hill became one of the holiest spots connected with Jainism and needless to say, it is mentioned in almost all the Jain texts of our period. The Jains associate this hill with the Pandavas.

The Jain Harivansa also relates this hill to the Pandavas. The Uttarapurana also pointedly mentions this hill. This hill is also alluded to in the Kuvalavanala, of Udyotanasuri. Satrunjaya is near modern Palitana in Gujarat.

Sammeda is generally identified with modern Pareshnath in the Giridlh district of Bihar. According to the Jain tradition, the majority of the <u>Tirthenkaras</u> had attained <u>nirvana</u> on this mountain. It is naturally mentioned in all the important Jain works beginning from the 546 Kalpasutra.

The Ramagiri mountain was sacred to 547 the Jains at least from the days of the Paumacariyam.

It is also mentioned in Ravishena's Padmapurana, Jinasena 549 550 From Harishena's work we learn that this hill was situated between Kalinga Vishaya and Andhra Vishya. The Kalyanakaraka 551 of Ugraditya (8th-9th century AlD.) was composed on this hill.

The <u>Kumaragiri</u> or <u>Kumarigiri</u> is 552 mentioned for the first time in the famous inscription

of Kharavela. It is also mentioned in a later Digambara
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epigraph and the well-known Brhatkathakosa of Harashena,
where it is placed correctly in the Grda vishva (Orissa).

hills in the Jain literature but they were not connected with this particular religions system in the period under review.

In the later days, however, hundreds of hills came to be connected with this religion. The five hills of Rajagrha, however, have not only been mentioned in the Mahabharata 555 and the Buddhist literature but also in the Harivamsa of Jinasena II, who, as we have already seen earlier, has taken care to mention their directions.

This detailed discussion at least proves that the Jain writers of our period have taken care to mention important geographical names of the sub-continent.

Some of the information may not be new but a few of them surely help us to have a more comprehensive idea of the historical geography of India of the early medieval period.

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362. Pp. 78, 79, 89, 97, 100, 115 etc.

363. 71.53 ff.

364. Story Nos. 4, 8, 9, 22 etc.

365. 2, p. 9, 43; **2** 9, p. 970-71.

366. Jee Somensen's luder entry entitled 'Pajapura'.

367. See Watters, Vol. I, pp. 284 f.

368. 21.80.

369. 2, p. 103.3, pp. 632-33, 652, 660, 665, 672, 8, p. 813.

370. 75. 241.

- 371. 1.3
- 372. See Book I, for further details on Rajapura see Handiqui 395f.
- 373. See Indian Epigraphy (A.R.) 1961-62, B. 128. See also Indian Archaeology, 1961-62, p. 85.
- 374. 19.7
- 375. p. 86
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- 377. Agamodaya edition with the <u>Vrtti</u> of Candrasuri, Surat,
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 op.cit, Vol. I, p. 251
- 378. 136.23
- 379. See Chatterjee, op.cit. Vol. II, p. 339.
- 380. pp. 28ff.
- 381. Forther further details see Jain, K.C., op.cit., pp. 193ff.
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 No. 336. For further details on this place see Chatterjee,

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- 392. 27.82
- 393. 230.16; 250.16
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- 399. 17.36
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- 480. 53.19.
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- 483. Watters, op.cit., Vol 2, pp. 46ff.
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- 488. XVI. 3, LXVIII., 21, C111.2, XIV.7.
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- 490. pp.3,4,21,26,34, 46, 52 etc.
- 491. pp.72.154
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- 496. E.I., Vol. 38, pp. 46ff.
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- 498. 45.107.

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504. 97. 2.

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506. 1.50.

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519. 120.32; 124.19.

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- 532. Cunningham, AGI, p. 531.
- 533. See Law B.C. Historical Geography etc. p. 152.
- 534. 2.13.49 (Cr. Ed.).
- 535. For a 2nd century epigraphic reference to this town see

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- 536. Para 52; for further canonical references see <u>P.P.N.</u>
 part II, p. 645.
- 537. 33.155; 66. 43-44; 65.14.
- 538. 30.102.
- 539. 71.275
- 540. Story Nos. 34,57, 118 etc.
- 541. Para 130; see also Antagadadasao, para 2.
- 542. See for details the sixteenth chapter of the first Sutaskandha of the Navadhammakahao.
- 543. 65.18.
- 544. 72.262.

545. 124.18.

546. See S.B.E.

547. 40.16.

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